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Edited by

JOHN FAITHFULL FLEET, C.I.E.,
BOMBAY CIVIL SERVICE,

RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE,
CAPTAIN, BENGAL STAFF CORPS,

AND

WILLIAM CROOKE,
BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE.

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The Hymns of the Rig-Veda, translated by Ralph T. H. Griffith; Vol. I., Parts 1, 2, 3. E. J. Lazarus and Co., Benares. 1889.

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THE COINS AND HISTORY OF TORAMANA.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

WHEN I wrote my paper on the Legends on the Silver Coins of the Early Guptas and others connected with them, *ante*, Vol. XIV. page 65 ff., I had not had an opportunity of inspecting the coins of Tôramâṇa. Later in the same year, I examined the only two certain specimens of his coinage, both of them silver, which, I believe, are known to exist, and which are in the British Museum; one of them being known as Colonel Bush's coin, and the other as Miss Baring's. And I have included some remarks on them in my Introduction to "the Gupta Inscriptions," *Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. III. p. 11 f. I take this opportunity of considering them more fully, and of making some further observations.

Of both of these coins very good collotypes have been published in the *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. Plate vii., facing p. 36, Nos. 27 (Colonel Bush's coin) and 28 (Miss Baring's); with an account of them, on p. 66, by Mr. Thomas. And they have also been photo-lithographed, but not so successfully, in the *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. Plate v., Nos. 18, 19, with a notice by Gen. Sir A. Cunningham on p. 26 f. But, in the treatment of them by these two scholars, there are two points to which objection has to be taken. One is Mr. Thomas' interpretation of the date, as being "82, or rather 182; the figure for 100 is obliterated." The other is that both he and Gen. Sir A. Cunningham made the legend include and commence with the epithet *dêva-janita*, which, being interpreted as meaning "begotten by the gods," might be held to be justified by, and to be closely connected with, the titles Dêvaputra and Daivaputra, "son of the gods, or of the deities;" the former of which, — unless it is only an imperfect rendering of the latter, — is applied to Huvishka in his inscriptions of the years 39 and 47, and to Vâsudêva in his inscription of the year 44 (?); and the latter of which, in connection with the names Shâhi and Shâhânushâhi, occurs in the Allahâbâd pillar inscription of Samudragupta.

In passing, it may be noted that the same epithet *dêva-janita*, rendered by "begotten of Dêva (or, of the Dêvas)," is also given by Mr. V. A. Smith in his proposed restoration of the legend on certain gold coins of Kumâragupta (*Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N. S., Vol. XXI. p. 100). I have not been able to trace his authority for this, or to examine the coins in question. But it may be taken as quite certain that there also the epithet does not really occur; and that the error is of precisely the same nature as in the case of Tôramâṇa's coins. And the same mistake has also been made in the case of certain silver coins of Kumâragupta, Skandagupta, Bhîmasêna, and Îśânavarman; on which Gen. Sir A. Cunningham read the same epithet, and rendered it by "His Majesty" (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. pp. 24, 25, 26, 27.)[1]

Of the two examples of Tôramâṇa's coinage, Colonel Bush's coin is by far the best specimen, both in execution and in preservation. On the obverse, there is the king's head, facing to the proper right. And in front of the face there is the date 52, in numerical symbols which run right onto the edge of the coin. The symbol for 2 is below the symbol for 50. Above the latter there is ample room for part of the symbol for 100, or for any following century, if it had been included on the die; but there are not any indications of this having been the case; there are no grounds for supposing that the symbol for any century was stamped, but has become obliterated, or was engraved on the die, but, in the stamping, fell beyond the edge of the coin; and I am quite sure that the date never included such a symbol. On the reverse there is the more finished representation of the peacock, very well depicted with outstretched wings and fully-expanded tail, and almost identical with the peacock on the Early Gupta silver coins of Class II., as distinguished by me from the ruder representation on the coins of Class A.; *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 65. And round this, in characters of the same type with those of Tôramâṇa's inscription on the boar at Êraṇ, (*Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. III. No. 36, p. 158, and Plate xxiii. A.), there is the marginal legend—

[1] See *ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 66, note 6.—I have not seen Bhîmasêna's coin. But there is no doubt whatever about the mistake and its origin.

Vijit-âvanir-avanipati-śrî-Tôramâṇô dêvô jayati ; — "victorious is his majesty, the lord of the earth, the glorious **Tôramâṇa**, who has conquered the earth."

Here the legend again, as well as following the same wording, agrees with the legends on the Early Gupta coins of Class B. in respect of the point that the superscript vowels were properly engraved on the die ; but they have mostly fallen beyond the edge of the coin, or otherwise have been rubbed and obliterated ; and the ê of *śrî* is the only one that is at all fully recognisable. The legend commences a little to the proper left above the peacock's head. And it is the last two words, *dêvô jayati*, which were wrongly taken by Mr. Thomas and Gen. Sir A. Cunningham, to be the commencement of it, and to be the epithet *dêva-janita*. That this was a mistake, even the collotype is really clear enough to show.

Miss Baring's coin is exactly similar in all essential points, on both the obverse and reverse ; but it was struck from another die ; and it is not so good a specimen, either in execution or in preservation. Here, again, on **the obverse** there is the same date of 52 ; and again without any indication of any third symbol. And on the **reverse** there are parts of the same legend ; but only the syllables *śrî-Tôramâṇô* are distinctly legible.

In my previous remarks on Tôramâṇa's coins, referred to above, I would not then give a final opinion as to **the exact value of the first symbol of the date** ; " since, though probably a 50, it is possibly an 80, turned half round on the die, so as to lie vertically, instead of horizontally, in order that it might not fall chiefly beyond the edge of the coin." But I do not now entertain any doubt about the propriety of reading it as 50 ; as it was read by Gen. Sir A. Cunningham. The symbol for 2 stands in a perfectly normal position. In order to interpret the other symbol as 80, we must read it at right angles to the direction in which the 2 lies on the coin ; and this is an irregularity for which no analogous instance, as far as I know, can be quoted, and which is probably not in any way justifiable. The symbol is given in Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's Table, *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 45, cols. 6 to 9 ; but is shewn there only for later times, and not for the Gupta and Valabhî periods, during the latter of which, in the Valabhî grants, a radically different symbol was used. But its existence can be traced to a very early period ; for it occurs in the Sahasrâm rock edict of Dêvânâmpiye of the year 256 (*Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. I. p. 94 ; and *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 155), in which its value is explained in the passage in words. And its continued preservation and use are shewn by its employment in the Nêpâl inscription of Jayadêva II., of Harsha-Samvat 153 (*ante*, Vol. IX. p. 178), and in the Dighwâ-Dubaulî grant of Mahêndrapâla, of Harsha-Samvat 155 (*ante*, Vol. XV. p. 112). It remains, therefore, accepting the value of this symbol as 50, and reading the whole date as (the year) 52, to see what **the application of the date** may be.

From the Gwâlior inscription (*Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. III. No. 37, p. 161), we have learned (*ante*, Vol. XV. p. 245) that **Tôramâṇa was the father of the great king Mihirakula**, who accomplished the final extinction of the Early Gupta sovereignty, so far as we are concerned, with the line ending with Skandagupta, and with the supremacy of the Guptas over the whole of Northern India. As is shewn by, amongst other things, their names, both of which plainly indicate a non-Hindu origin, and by the use of the title Shâhi on Mihirakula's copper coins and in a recently discovered inscription of Tôramâṇa himself, — the two persons, father and son, belonged by birth either to the same **foreign race** to which belonged Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vâsudêva, and the members of which, whether best and most properly known by the name of Indo-Scythians, Sakas, Hûṇas, or Turushkas, had established themselves in the Pañjâb in the first century A.D. ; or else to one or other of the foreign tribes which succeeded Kanishka's dynasty in the Pañjâb, and, as can be proved even from their coins, continued in power down to at least the time of Samudragupta, and the members of which adopted in several respects the characteristics and attributes of Kanishka's dynasty.[2] As we learn from Hiuen Tsiang, **Mihirakula's capital was Śâkala in the Pañjâb**, which is the modern

[2] I refer to the coins on some of which a paper by Mr. Thomas, entitled "Indo-Scythian Coins with Hindu Legends," has been published in this Journal, Vol. XII. p. 6 ff.

Sâṅgalawâlâṭibbâ, — the 'Sangla Hill, G. T. S., of the map, Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 30, Lat. 31° 42′ N., Long. 73° 26′ E., — in the 'Jhang' District, and on the borders of 'Gujrânwâlâ,' about forty-four miles west by north of Lâhôr. And **Tôramâṇa has recently been connected with the same part of the country**, through Mr. M. F. O'Dwyer's discovery,[2] at 'Kura' in the Salt Range, of an inscription of the Shâhi or Shâhia Tôramâṇa, whom I hold to be undoubtedly the Tôramâṇa whose coins I am discussing. **Mihirakula's date** is now known sufficiently closely; for, as I have shewn on a previous occasion (*ante*, Vol. XV. p. 252), his fifteenth year, recorded in his Gwâlior inscription, must fall somewhere very close to A.D. 533-34, which is the recorded date for Yaśôdharman, who overthrew him in Western and Central India; and we shall be very near the mark, if we select A.D. 515 for the commencement of his career.

This fixes **Tôramâṇa's date**, approximately. But it is also determined, and for just the same period, by independent considerations. The Êraṇ pillar inscription, dated in the reign of Budhagupta (*Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. III. No. 19, p. 88), records the erection of the column by the *Mahârâja* Mâṭṛivishṇu and his younger brother Dhanyavishṇu, and thus shews that at that time both of these persons were alive. On the other hand, the Êraṇ boar inscription, referred to above, dated in the first year of the reign of Tôramâṇa, records that the temple, in the portico of which the boar stands, was built by the same Dhanyavishṇu, after, as is distinctly stated, the decease of his elder brother, the *Mahârâja* Mâṭṛivishṇu. These two records accordingly show that Tôramâṇa came, in Eastern Mâlwa, after Budhagupta, and within the remnant of the generation to which the brothers Mâṭṛivishṇu and Dhanyavishṇu belonged. For Budhagupta we have the date of A.D. 484, from the pillar inscription; and from his coins (*ante*, Vol. XIV. p. 67 f.), the date of A.D. 494-95, and possibly a somewhat later date, corresponding to Gupta-Saṁvat 180 (A.D. 499-500), with or without a numeral in the units place. The next native king after Budhagupta, in the same part of the country, was, as far as our present information goes, Bhânugupta; for whom we have the date of A.D. 510, from the Êraṇ pillar inscription of Gôparâja (*Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. III. No. 20, p. 91). And further, we have the grants of the Parivrâjaka *Mahârâjas* Hastin and Saṁkshôbha (*id.* Nos. 21, 22, 23, 25, pp. 93, 100, 106, 112), dated in A.D. 475, 482, 511, and 528; which, though they do not give the names of the paramount sovereigns, distinctly record that the dominion of the Gupta kings was then still continuing. These various records and dates, taken together, shew that in the period there was an interruption of the Gupta sovereignty by foreign invaders, led by Tôramâṇa and Mihirakula. But they shew also that, in Mâlwa at least, this interruption did not last for any great time; and that the first year of Tôramâṇa, mentioned in the Êraṇ boar inscription, must fall either between A.D. 494 and 510, or between A.D. 510 and about 515, when he may be supposed to have died and to have been succeeded by Mihirakula. Under any circumstances, taking even the latest date of A.D. 533-34, when Mihirakula in his turn had been overthrown by Yaśôdharman, the whole period of the tenancy of Mâlwa by these foreign invaders did not amount to more than forty years. And, accordingly, the year 52 on Tôramâṇa's coins cannot have a local application, and cannot be reckoned from his conquest of Mâlwa.

Others of the records throw still more light on **the history of the period**. The Mandasôr inscription of Mâlava-Saṁvat 529 expired (*Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. III. No. 18, p. 79) shews that Kumâragupta's rule included Western Mâlwa in A.D. 436; but that, between then and A.D. 473, that part of the country passed under the power of other kings, and the Early Gupta sway there ceased, at least temporarily. Other specific references to a serious interruption of the Early Gupta sovereignty at that time, and to the enemies by whom it was effected, are to be found in the Bhitarî pillar inscription (*id.* No. 13, p. 52) of Kumâragupta's

[2] Notified in the *Academy*, 12th January, 1889, p. 29. I have seen an impression of this inscription, through the kindness of Dr. Bühler, who has it in hand for publication elsewhere. It is dated; but unfortunately the passage is much damaged, and, as an estampage may make the passage somewhat clearer hereafter, it is useless to speculate on the possible readings of the date here; and I will only point out that, if it is dated in an era, that era must of necessity be the Śaka era, though probably not mentioned by that name. For present purposes, it is sufficient to state that, on palæographical grounds, the inscription may undoubtedly be referred to the time of Tôramâṇa, the father of Mihirakula.

son and successor Skandagupta, who "conquered the Pushyamitras," and "joined in close conflict with the Hûṇas," and, "after his father's death, established again the ruined fortunes of his family." It seems likely that the Pushyamitras are to be placed in Central India, somewhere in the country along the banks of the Narmadâ;[4] and possibly it was by them that Kumâragupta's power in Mâlwa was overthrown. But the Hûṇas belonged to the extreme north-west of India; and, however far they may have been successful in isolated attacks on the northern frontier of the Gupta kingdom, they had not then broken through the Gupta territory and invaded the more southern parts of it. In the first place, the Junâgadh rock inscription of Skandagupta (*id.* No. 14, p. 56), and his Kahâum pillar inscription (*id.* No. 15, p. 65), shew that, during the period A.D. 455 to 466, he held the supremacy right across the lower part of Northern India, from Kathiâwâḍ to the confines of Nêpâl. And in the second place, the Valabhî records shew pretty closely the period when the passage of the Hûṇas to the south did take place. From them we learn (*e.g.*, *id.* No. 38, p. 167) that the *Sênâpati* Bhaṭârka, the founder of the Valabhî family, "was possessed of glory acquired in a hundred battles fought with the large armies, possessed of unequalled strength, of the Maitrakas, who had by force bowed down their enemies;" *i.e.* that he fought successfully, in Kâthiâwâḍ or on its frontier, against the Maitrakas, *i.e.* the Mihiras, *i.e.* the particular family or clan, among the Hûṇas, to which Tôramâṇa and Mihirakula belonged. For Bhaṭârka's third son, the *Mahârâja* Dhruvasêna I., we have the date of A.D. 526 (Gupta-Valabhî-Saṁvat 207, the month Kârttika; *ante*, Vol. V. p. 206), — the earliest recorded date of the family. Between them there intervened the two elder brothers of Dhruvasêna I., the *Sênâpati* Dharasêna I., and the *Mahârâja* Drôṇasiṁha. And Bhaṭârka is thus to be placed, roughly, in the period A.D. 490 to 500; just synchronously with the latest date for Budhagupta in Mâlwa. As we have seen, just after Budhagupta we find Tôramâṇa established as king of Eastern Mâlwa. And the reference to the Maitrakas in connection with Bhaṭârka, who evidently prevented an invasion of Kâthiâwâḍ by them, shews precisely the period when his troops were marching to the south. Skandagupta, the last of the direct line of the Early Gupta kings, had commenced to reign in or about A.D. 450; and doubtless it was his death that enabled the Hûṇas, who had already proved troublesome enemies enough, to assume an aggressive attitude again, under Tôramâṇa; and on this occasion with such success as to penetrate even to Central India, and to hold good their position there, till Mihirakula was overthrown by Yaśôdharman in the west and by Bâlâditya in the direction of Magadha.

We have seen that **the date 52, on Tôramâṇa's coins, can have no local application,** reckoning from his conquest of Mâlwa. Nor can it be reckoned from the Gupta epoch; for its equivalent would then be A.D. 371-72, almost a century and a quarter too early. Even if, for the sake of argument, we admit that the system of "omitted hundreds" was used anywhere in India before the invention and application of the Lôkakâla reckoning in considerably later times, and so, while reading the date as 52, we interpret it as 152, and refer it to the Gupta epoch with the result of A.D. 471-72, it would still be twenty-five years too soon; to say nothing of the improbability of Tôramâṇa consenting to use the Gupta era. Thus, no explanation of the date can be found by any of these applications of it. Further, the omission of the name of Tôramâṇa's father in the Eraṇ boar inscription, contrasted with the fact that his own name, as that of the father of Mihirakula, is given in the Gwâlior inscription dated in Mihirakula's reign, indicates plainly, if interpreted on the analogy of other epigraphical records drafted by Hindus, that Tôramâṇa was the first of his tribe or clan to establish himself in Mâlwa. And in this connection, a comparison of the details of the two Eraṇ records with which we are concerned, is instructive. The pillar inscription opens with a verse in praise of Viṣṇu as the four-armed god. Then follows the date, — "in a century of years, increased by sixty-five; and while Budhagupta (*is*) king; on the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month Âshâdha; on the day of Suraguru; (*or in figures*) the year 100 (*and*) 60 (*and*) 5; and while

[4] See the *Viṣhṇu-Purâṇa*, Translation, Vol. IV. p. 215, note.

Surasmichandra is governing, with the qualities of a regent of one of the quarters of the world, (*the country that lies*) between the (rivers) Kâlindî and Narmadâ, (*and*) is enjoying in the world the glory of (*being*) a *Mahârâja*." And so far, with the exception of the words *sam 100 60 5*, the record is in verse, with an irregularity in the first *pâda* of each of the first two stanzas. Then, in prose, commencing with the words "on this (*lunar*) day, (*specified*) as above by the year and month and day," there comes the description of the brothers Mâtṛivishṇu and Dhanyavishṇu, with their ancestry for three generations; and the statement that they conjointly set up the column, as a flag-staff of the god Janârdana. And the record ends with the benediction, — "let prosperity attend all the subjects, headed by the cows and the Brâhmaṇs!" The boar inscription opens with a verse in praise of Vishṇu in the form of the Boar. Then follows the date, — "in the first year; while the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious Tôramâṇa, of great fame (*and*) of great lustre, is governing the earth; on the tenth day of (the month) Phâlguna; on this (*lunar day*), (*specified*) as above by the regnal year and month and day, (*and*) invested as above with its own characteristics." And, in a very similar fashion to the irregularity in the metre in the opening verses of the pillar inscription, the first half of the passage containing the date, lying between two verses in the Aryâ metre, commences in the same metre, and was evidently intended to be completed as a verse; but it winds up in prose, probably because the composer found it difficult to adapt the paramount title, *mahârâjâdhirâja*, to the metre. The rest of the record is in prose; and except for the differences due to the necessity of here describing Mâtṛivishṇu as deceased, and to the fact that the object of this record was a stone temple of the god Nârâyaṇa (Vishṇu) in the form of the Boar, it is word for word identical with the corresponding portion of the pillar inscription. And it ends with the same benediction, — "let prosperity attend all the subjects, headed by the cows and the Brâhmaṇs!" The analogous shortcomings in the metrical portions, suggest that the two records were composed by one and the same person, — a man not quite perfect in the art of versification. But at least it is plain that all the formal part of each was taken from the same standard draft. And from either point of view, the contrast between the manner in which the year of the Gupta era, and no regnal year, is used in the pillar inscription, and the manner in which the boar inscription is dated, not in any year of an era, but only in the first regnal year (*râjya-varsha*), shews emphatically that this latter record was composed and engraved during the very first year of Tôramâṇa's possession of that part of the country.

But, **coming down, as Tôramâṇa did, from the extreme north-west corner of India**, it is impossible that he could establish himself, as the first of a new, hostile, and foreign dynasty, in the most southern part of the Gupta territory, in absolutely the first year of his reign. Such a journey and such a conquest can only have been the work of much time, facilitated by power accumulated during several years of sovereignty elsewhere. And such **sovereignty elsewhere**, in his own part of the country, is proved partly by the use, on his coins, of the year 52, which, as we have now seen, cannot possibly denote the duration of his reign in Mâlwa, and must be reckoned from some initial year considerably anterior to the date of his appearing in that part of the country; and partly, and even still more plainly, by the 'Kura' inscription referred to above. In that record, indeed, he has the title of *Mahârâja*; which, interpreted in accordance with the purely Hindu custom of the period, would indicate only feudatory rank. But before it there stands another title, now partly effaced, which was either *Râjâtirâja* or *Râjâdhiraja*. And the two together are precisely the two titles which the Indo-Scythians, differing from the Hindu custom, and in spite of the fact that many of their records must have been drafted by Hindus, used to indicate paramount sovereignty.[5]

It is plain, therefore, that **Tôramâṇa did exercise sovereign sway in the Panjâb**; at the beginning of his career, and before he commenced the campaign in the course of which he eventually reached Mâlwa. If, now, we interpret the year on his coins as a **regnal year, it**

[5] I hope to write ere long a full note on Hindu and Indo-Scythian Titles of Paramount Sovereignty. Meanwhile, see some remarks, in connection with the title *Mahârâja*, in *Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. III. p. 15, note 4.

certainly indicates a long reign. But analogous instances could be quoted for this; and no special exception need be taken to it. And this interpretation of the date is at any rate better than the assumption that it is reckoned from some period, anterior to Tôramâṇa's accession, at which his own branch of the Hûṇas first rose to power; for that would mean that, not satisfied with the Saka era, which was the hereditary and national era of that part of the country, and probably of his own ancestors also, he sought to establish a new era, dating from that event. This, accordingly, is the interpretation that I place upon the date. And, reckoning back from A.D. 515, which is very closely the latest terminal date that can be applied, it follows that the commencement of his reign, at his own capital in the Paṇjâb, is to be placed approximately in A.D. 460.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

No. 181.—Multai Copper-Plate Grant of Nandaraja.—Saka-Samvat 631.

This inscription was first brought to notice and published, with a lithograph, by Mr. James Prinsep, in 1837, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VI. p. 869 ff., and Plate xliv., from the original plates, which were sent in to him by Mr. Mannaton Ommanney, C.S., who had them from Kamal Bhârti, a Gôsain, resident at Multâi,[1] the chief town of the Multâi Tahsîl or Sub-Division of the Bâtûl[2] District, Central Provinces. Owing to certain inaccuracies in the passage containing the date, Mr. Prinsep was not able to determine the exact period of this record; but had to leave this point uncertain, "wavering between 630 and 830" of the Saka era. This question has remained unsettled up to the present time. And, in fact, owing to the omission of a syllable in the published lithograph, it could not well be finally decided without a re-examination of the original. I am, therefore, glad to be able now to re-edit this inscription from the original plates, which were recently re-discovered, and have been sent to me, by Colonel J. A. Temple, Deputy Commissioner, who obtained them from Suphal Bhârti. From Colonel Temple's memorandum it appears that this line of Gôsains, the members of which are celibate, and the succession in which passes from teacher to disciple, inhabit a *maṭha* or religious college on the banks of a small tank at Multâi, in which there are the springs that are considered to be the source of the Tâpi or Taptî. The tradition is that the first settlement here was made in the middle of the eleventh century A.D., by one Tâpî Bhârti, who threw up an earthen dam, enclosing the springs in question, and built the present *maṭha*. By the records of the *maṭha*, Suphal Bhârti, who is the immediate successor of Kamal Bhârti and the present representative of the line of Gôsains, is the tenth in succession after Tâpî Bhârti; and he holds, rent-free, the village of Khaḍa-Âmlâ and the other nine villages; and it came to notice through being produced before Mr. Ommanney in the course of an inquiry into rent-free tenures. It does not, however, contain any name answering to any of the above. And Mr. Ommanney, who read the names, except that of Arjunagrâma, with sufficient correctness for the purpose, reported that neither have the villages mentioned any resemblance in name to any in the Multâi District, nor could he discover any at all like them at Hôshaṅgâbâd or Jabalpur. It is, therefore, not even certain that the grant really belongs to the locality in which the holders of it have resided for so long

[1] The 'Mooltai, Mooltye, Multáye, Multai, and Multái,' of maps, &c. Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 72. Lat. 21° 46' N.; Long. 78° 18' E.

[2] The 'Baitool, Baitul, and Betúl,' of maps, &c.

a time. All that can be said on this point is, that the characters show that it belongs to some part of Central India or of the Central Provinces.

The plates, of which the first is engraved on one side only, but the last on both sides, are three in number, each measuring about 7¾″ by 3½″. The edges of them were fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surfaces, with small depressions running round inside the rims thus formed. The writing on the first and third plates is in a state of almost perfect preservation. That on the second plate, on both sides, has suffered a good deal from corrosion; but the only word that is at all doubtful, is *kétuḥ*, in line 10; all the rest can be read on the original plate without any uncertainty. — The ring on which the plates were strung, and the holes for which are in the lower part of the first plate and the upper part of the other two, is about ⅛″ thick, and is oval in shape, measuring about 2¼″ by 2⅜″. It had been cut when the grant came into my hands; and it probably was thus cut for the purposes of the lithograph issued with Mr. Prinsep's paper. The seal on it is not a separate arrangement, attached to the ring by soldering, or by socketing the ends of the ring in it; but is part of the ring itself, the copper wire having been here beaten out into a surface, following the curve of the ring, about ⅛″ thick, and roughly oval in shape, measuring about 1⅛″ by 2⅛″. In the upper part of the seal there is engraved in outline a figure[2] which undoubtedly seems to be meant for Garuḍa,[3] depicted with a man's legs, extended as if running, with expanded wings, and with the head and beak of a bird, facing to the proper right; and below this there is the legend *śrí-Yuddhśuraḥ*, which quotes what is given in line 14-15 of the record itself as a second name or *biruda* of Nandarája. — The weight of the three plates is 2 lbs. 9½ oz., and of the ring and seal, 3½ oz.; total, 2 lbs. 13 oz. — The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; and are of the transitional type from which the northern Nágarí was shortly afterwards developed. The following palæographical points call for notice. (1) In the *já* of *játas*, line 8, and in the *jñá* of *ajñána*, line 24, the *á* is an upward stroke attached to the middle of the *j*; and it is written in the same way, as a component of *ó*, in *tójó*, line 4; but in *rájó*, line 3, the same component of *ó* is formed by a downward stroke attached to the top of the *j*. (2) In the *bhi* of *rajábhis*, line 27, the form of the vowel differs entirely from that which is used throughout the rest of the inscription; compare, for instance, *hétubhiḥ*, line 3. Owing to a fault in the copper, it is formed in rather a slanting and cramped manner; but it is evidently intended for the older circular superscript *i*. The consonant itself is not very well formed here; but it is evidently the *bh* that is used throughout the rest of the record. (3) In the *pá* of *párvuṇa*, line 20, and *párvasi*, line 22, the *á* differs entirely from that which is used throughout the rest of the record, and which is very clearly illustrated in *bhúmis*. line 27. (4) In the *ké* of *kétuḥ*, line 10, and in the *dé* of *anumódéta*, line 25, the *é*, unless it is omitted altogether, is formed quite exceptionally, by being attached, according to the older method, to the top of the consonant, instead of being superscript, as, for instance, in *ánvayé*, line 2. (5) In the *yá* of *pippaṛikáyá*, line 20, the *y* has a totally different form from that which is used throughout the rest of the record. It is not altogether well shaped; but it is evidently intended for the well-known older *y*. For an analogous difference in Central India, in respect of the same letter, see *Corp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. III., No. 23, p. 106; where, however, the exceptional form is the later one, which in the present record is the standard form. And (6) the *á* used in *śaka*, line 29, is perceptibly of a squarer and more antique shape than that used otherwise throughout, for a clear instance of which see *yaśasi*, line 1. The average size of the letters is about ⅛″. The engraving is good and fairly deep; but, the plates being thick and substantial, the letters do not show through at all, even on the reverse side of the first plate. The engraver's work was done steadily and smoothly; and it is only in the interiors of a few of the letters that any marks of the working of the tool can be detected. — The language is Sanskrit. Except for the opening words, *Óṁ* and *Svasti*, and for some words in lines 5-6 which will be the subject of comment further on, the first twelve lines of the record are in verse. And two of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses are quoted in lines 26 to 29. — In

[2] The epithet *paramabhágavata*, which is applied to Nandarája-Yuddhśura in line 14 of the record itself, indicates that he was a Vaishṇava.

respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of the guttural nasal, instead of the *anusvâra*, in *vaiśyair*, line 22 ; (2) the use of *v* for *b* in *vrahmanya*, line 14 ; though the proper sign for *b* itself is used in *bahu*, line 9, and in *bahubhir*, line 26, and probably also in *samanubôdhayati*, line 16, where, however, the letter is much damaged ; (3) the doubling of *n* before *y*, in *ramanyê*, line 2 ; and (4) the doubling of *t* before *r*, in *mâtâpittrôr*, line 17, and in *sagôttrâya*, line 18 ; though not in *mitra* in the same line, and in other words.

The inscription is one of a **Rashṭrakûṭa chieftain named Nandarâja, and otherwise called Yuddhasura**, whose subordinate feudatory rank is indicated by the absence of any of the paramount or even ordinary regal titles in the description of him and his ancestors, and by the fact that his official, under whose direction the charter was written, was only a *Sâmâdhivigrahika*, — not a *Mahâsâmâdhivigrahika*. It is non-sectarian ; the object of it being only to record the grant, to a Brâhmaṇ, of the village of **Jalaûkuhe**, bounded on the east, south, west, and north, by the villages of **Kinihivaṭṭâra, Pipparikâ, Jaluka, and Arjunagrâma**, respectively. Those places have not yet been identified ; and the record itself does not give any indication as to the neighbourhood in which they should be found. For such cases as the present we much require, for other parts of India, similar lists to that of the very useful Postal Directory of the Bombay Circle, which was issued in 1879 under the superintendence of Mr. H. E. M. James, Bo.C.S., and which gives the name of every town and village the postal arrangements of which are under the Government of Bombay.

As regards the date of this record, from line 21-22 we learn that the grant was made on the full-moon day of the month Kârttika. And in line 29 f. we have, for the writing of the charter, Saka-Saṁvat 631, expressed in words, and not specified either as current or as expired. The period of the grant is thus A.D. 708-709, or 709-710, according as the given year is applied as current or as expired. But there are no details that can be tested by calculation. Mr. Prinsep's difficulty in respect of the date arose from his failing to recognise, in line 30, that *shaṭchhv* is a mistake for *shaṭsv*, which stands for *shaṭsu* in combination by *saṁdhi* with a word, *êka*, commencing with a vowel ; and that what we have after *shaṭchhvê* is evidently the upper part of a *ha*, which plainly at first was omitted altogether, and then was not properly inserted, because the ring-hole left hardly room enough to form the whole letter conveniently. In his text, which was primarily based on Mr. Ommanney's decipherment, with amendments by his own Paṇḍit, he gave the reading *Saka-kâla-saṁvatsarê śatêshu shaṭkôna(?) triṁś-ôttarêshu*. And he repeated this in his introductory remarks ; adding the words "the obvious meaning of this is six hundred and thirty besides." But, as giving rather his own interpretation, he proceeded to write "after the word *śatêshu*, 'hundreds,' in the plural number, two unknown characters "follow, which may be very probably numerals. The second has much resemblance to the "modern 8, but the first is unknown and of a complex form : its central part reminds us of the "equally enigmatical numeral in one of the Bhêlsâ inscriptions. It may, perhaps, designate in a "cipher the word *aṅkê*, 'in numerals,' thus purporting 'in the year of Saka, hundreds, numeri-"cally 8, and thirty over.' A fertile imagination might again convert the cipher into the word "*aṅitaḥ*, 'eight,' afterwards expressed in figures ; but I must leave this curious point for "future elucidation, wavering between 630 and 830 for the date of the document." As I have indicated above, the difficulty in the way of settling this date before now, has been due to the fact that for some reason or other the *sha* of *śatêshu* was omitted in the lithograph, which appears to be chiefly based on a hand-drawing by Mr. Ommanney. There is in reality no puzzle at all in the correct reading of the date, which was, in fact, quite evident on my examination of a drawing of the second side of the third plate, which was sent to me as a sample from which to decide whether the original plates were worth transmitting. The passage containing the date includes no numerals, and it simply means "in six centuries of years, increased by the thirty-first year, of the Saka era."

A really curious point in this inscription is the irregular way in which a short prose passage is introduced in line 5-6. The words *tasy=âtmavân âtmajaḥ*, at the end of line 6, are the last seven syllables of a line in the Śârdûlavikrîḍita metre ; whereas, the immediately

preceding passage, which is the direct context of them, commencing with *tasya sûnur* in line 5, is in prose. To the words *tasy=âtmavân âtmajaḥ* Mr. Prinsep attached the note — "the "metre requires here an addition of 12 syllables to the 9" (properly, seven) "found in the "text, to complete the Sârdûlavikrîḍita verse; these Kamalâkânta would supply thus, — *dhîr-"ânanda-sudhâkarasya jagatâṁ*, 'the moon of the happiness of the wise.'" But what we have here is the end of the *second* line of a stanza, which terminates with the word *sarvvataḥ* in line 8; and we require not twelve, but thirty-one syllables, to complete the stanza. This, of course, is on the assumption that the words *tasy=âtmavân âtmajaḥ* are really intended to be metrical; and that they are really part of the sentence that runs on in metre in line 7. As regards the latter point, of course it is possible that an entire plate, with two sides of writing, and containing any number of names between that of Gôvindarâja who is mentioned in line 6 and that of Svâmikarâja who is mentioned in line 7, may have been lost. As, however, Mr. Prinsep spoke of "three copper-plates connected by a ring and seal in the usual manner," I think we may infer that, when the grant reached his hands, or at any rate when it was discovered by Mr. Ommanney, the ring was still uncut, and that no part of the record is missing. And as regards the first point, unless the words in question were distinctly intended to be metrical, there is no reason for the introduction of the epithet *âtmavân*, 'self-possessed,' which means nothing of any particular importance, and is useful only for the purposes of the metre; also, from *vistîrṇê*, line 1, to *yô=rthinâṁ*, line 12, the whole text, with the exception of the short passage now being discussed, is in verse, and in one and the same metre, Sârdûlavikrîḍita. I take it, therefore, that the words *tasy=âtmavân âtmajaḥ* were certainly intended to be metrical; that nothing is lost here; and that the continuation of the same sentence follows in line 7. The beginning of the stanza can be made in a very simple manner, by altering *tasya sûnur âsît*, in line 5, into *tasmât sûnur abhût*. But it is more difficult to adapt the following eighteen syllables to the metre; especially as they have to be expanded into twenty-five. And the real intended reading here, and the manner in which the present text was arrived at, must remain a puzzle, until we obtain some other record, following the same original draft, and written out correctly. Only this much seems clear; that, in view of the use of *arjjita* instead of the more customary *upârjjita*, the words *sâhas-ârjjita-yaśâḥ* appear to be part of the original draft.

Accepting the direct continuation of lines 6 and 7, this inscription gives us the following names in the **Râshṭrakûṭa** lineage; Durgarâja; his son, Gôvindarâja; his son, Svâmikarâja; and his son, **Nanda**râja, otherwise called Yuddhâsura. In what relation these persons stand to the well-known Râshṭrakûṭas of Mâlkhêḍ in the Dekkan and of Gujarât, there are at present no means of determining. There are also other early **Râshṭrakûṭas**, in respect of whom the same remark has to be made. One of them is the Krishṇarâja, whose coins[4] have been obtained from Dêôlâṇâ in the Bâglân Tâluka, **Nâsik District**, and who is to be referred to about the commencement of the fifth century A. D. And others are Mânâṅka; his son, Dêvarâja; his son, Bhavishyn; and his son, Abhimanyu; whose names occur in the grant published by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 89 ff., and allotted by him, on palæographical grounds to about the 8th century A. D., though I would place it much nearer to the period of the present record. According to that grant, Abhimanyu's residence was **Mânapura**; which Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji was inclined to identify with the well-known Râshṭrakûṭa city of Mânyakhêṭa, i. e. Mâlkhêḍ. But in my opinion the interchange of *mânya* and *mâna*, and still more the substitution of *pura*, 'a town,' for *khêṭa*, 'a small town,'[5] for the purpose of indicating or magnifying the importance of the place," are not justifiable. I consider that we must certainly look for Mânapura in some place that still bears that name; and that it may very possibly be found in the modern **Manpur**[6] in **Mâlwa**, the chief town of the

[4] See *ante*, Vol. XIV p. 68.

[5] Indian Atlas, Sheet No. 36 Lat 22° 26' N., Long. 75° 41' E. — I should state, however, that in the neighbourhood of this Mânpur I cannot find in the map any place-names answering to the Pethapangaraka and Upâlikavâṭikâ which are mentioned in the grant, and which should be useful in fixing its locality. The grant came to

Mânpur Pargaṇâ under the Bhôpâwar Agency in Central India, about twelve miles south-west of Mhow. The preceding names all belong to a time anterior, or nearly so, to that of the first of the Râshṭrakûṭas of Mâlkhêḍ. In a considerably later period, we have the name of the Râshṭrakûṭa *Mahâsâmantâdhipati* Golhaṇadêva, a feudatory of the Kalachuri king Gayakarṇa, mentioned in an inscription on the pedestal of a Jain image at 'Bahuriband' in the **Jabalpur District**, Central Provinces,[6] which belongs to about the first quarter of the twelfth century A. D. And, from the syllables *śrî-râshṭra*, which are extant in line 5, it seems likely that there was an intermediate notice of the Râshṭrakûṭa family in the same part of the country, to be referred to the eighth or ninth century A. D., in one of the inscriptions of Śivagupta, the son of Harshagupta, at Sirpur in the **Râypur District**, Central Provinces.[7]

TEXT.[8]

First Plate.

1 Ôm[9] Svasti [॥*] Vistîrṇṇê[10] sthiti-pâlan-âpta-yaśasi śrî-**Râ-**
2 **shṭrakûṭ-ânvayê** rammyê kshîranidhâv=iv=êndur=abhavat=śrî[11]-**Durgga-**
3 **râjô** nṛipaḥ lôk-âhlâdana-hêtubhiḥ pravitatais=têjô-vi-
4 śêsh-ôdayai[ḥ*] yên=â(ô)chchaiḥ-padavîṁ vigâhya vidhivat=paksha-dvayaṁ
5 bhâsitaṁ [॥*] Tasya[12] sûnur=âsîd=anêka-samara-sâhas-ârjji-
6 ta-yaśâḥ śrî-**Gôvindarâjaḥ** tasy=âtmavân=âtmajaḥ

Second Plate; First Side.

7 śrîmâṁ(n) **Sv[â*]mikarâja** ity=anupamô yasy=ôrjjitaṁ paurushaṁ saṁ-
8 grâmâd=anivarttinô vijayinaḥ saṁgîyatê sarvvataḥ [॥*] Jâta-
9 s=tasya sutaḥ satâ[ṁ] bahu-mataḥ śrî-**Naṁnda**[13]**râjaḥ** kṛitî kâ-
10 tta(nta)ḥ kâr[u]ṇikaḥ kalaṅka-rahitaḥ kêtuḥ[14] karâlô dvishâṁ
11 dhaur[ê*]yô raṇa-sâhas-âhita-dhiyâm=agrêsarô mâninâṁ
12 vaidagdh-ôddhata-chêtasâm=adhipatiḥ kalpa-drumô yô=rthinâ[ṁ] [॥*]

Second Plate; Second Side.

13 Yaś=cha sa[ṁ*]śraya-viśêsha-lôbhâd=iva sakalair=âbhigâmikair=ita-
14 raiś=cha guṇair=upêtaḥ parama-vra(bra)hmaṇya[ḥ*] parama-bhâgavataḥ śrî-**Yu-**
15 **ddhâsura**-paranâmâ sa sarvvân=êva râja-sâmanta-vishayapa-
16 ti-grâmabhôgik-âdî[n*] samanubôdhayati [।*] Viditam=astu
17 bhavatâ[ṁ] yath=âsmâbhiḥ mâtâpittrôr=âtmanaś=cha puṇy-âbhi-
18 vṛi[d*]dhayô Kautsa-sagôttrâya Mitra-chaturvvêda-pautrâya Rakta[15]prabha-cha-

Third Plate; First Side.

19 cha[16]turvvêda-putrâya Śrîprabha-chaturvvêdâya **Kiṇihivaṭṭârât**=paśchimê-
20 na **Pipparikâyâ** ut[t*]arêṇa **Jalukâyâ[ḥ*]** pûrvvêṇa **Arjunagrâmâ-**

light through being in Dr. Bhau Daji's collection; but no information seems to be forthcoming as to the place where he obtained it. — I notice that, within the limits of the Bombay Presidency, there are two places named Mânpur in the Gaikwâr's Dominions; one in the Bânsdâ or Vâṁsdâ State; one in Khândêsh; three in the Râdhanpur State; and two in the Mahî-Kâṇṭhâ. But I have not had the opportunity of searching the maps for the neighbourhood of these places.

[6] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 40.

[7] *id.* Vol. XVII. Plate xix. C., line 5.

[8] From the original plates.

[9] Represented by a symbol.

[10] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and in the following two verses.

[11] Read *abhavach=chhrî*.

[12] As regards the occurrence of these words in prose, see the introductory remarks.

[13] Read *nanda*.

[14] Prinsep read here *kâlaḥ*, "a dreadful avenger on his enemies." But that is certainly not the reading of the original. The first syllable is either *kê* or *ka*. And in the second syllable there seems to be undoubtedly a *t*; and below it there is a mark which may well be the sign for the subscript *u*, rather damaged. Of the *visarga*, the lower part is damaged.

[15] I think *rakta* is what was intended here. The two syllables might possibly be read *râja*. But they certainly are not *rana*, for *raṇa*, as taken by Prinsep.

[16] This second *cha* is unnecessary. The preceding *cha*, however, at the end of line 19, stands in the margin, as if it was inserted on a revision of the document.

Multai Plates of Nandaraja.—Saka-Samvat 631.

i.

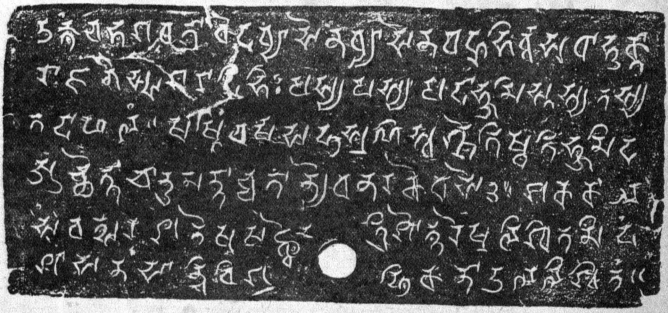
ii a

J. F. FLEET, BO. C.S. SCALE ·76 W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

ii b

iii a

iii b



21 d=[d°]akshiṇêṇa ûbhir=âghâṭaneiḥ[17] Jalaûkuhe[18]-nâma-grâma[ḥ*] Kârttika-
22 paurṇṇamâsyâṁ udaka-pûrvvaṁ pratipâditaḥ [1*] Yatô=smad-vaṁśyair=anyai-
23 r=vv=âgâmi-nṛipatibhir=asmad-dâyô=numantavyaḥ pratipâlayita-
24 vyaś=cha [1*] yô v=âjñâna-timira-paṭal-âvṛita-matiḥ âchchhindyâd=âchchhidya-
25 mânaṁ v=ânumâ(mô)d·ita sa[19] pañchabhir=mahâpâtakais=saṁyuktas=syâd=iti [1*]

Third Plate; Second Side.

26 Uktaṁ cha bhagavatâ vêda-vyâsêna Vyâsêna [1*] Bahubhir[20]=vvasudhâ bhuktâ
27 râjabhis=Sagar-âdibhiḥ yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya
28 tadâ phalaṁ ॥ Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasr[â*]ṇi svarggê tishṭhati bhûmi-da[ḥ*]
29 âchchhêttâ ch=ânumantâ chcha(cha) tâny=êva narakê vasêt ॥ Saka-kâla-
30 saṁvatsara-satêshu shaṭchhv[21]-êka-tri[ṁ*]śâ-ûttarêshu likhitam=idaṁ
31 śâsana[m*] sândhivigrahika-Nâula-likhitaṁ ॥

TRANSLATION.

Om ! Hail ! In the widely spread (*and*) pleasing glorious **Rashṭrakûṭa** lineage, which has acquired reputation by the preservation of stability, there was a king, the illustrious **Durgarâja**, by whom, having attained a high position, the two parties (*of his friends and his foes*) were properly illumined with the widely expanded rising of the excess of (*his*) glory, which caused the happiness of (*his*) people ; just as in the broad (*and*) charming ocean of milk there was produced the moon, by which, when it has reached the track of the zenith, the two fortnights are irradiated with the wide-reaching rising of the excess of (*its*) lustre, which causes the happiness of mankind.

(Line 5.). — His son was the illustrious **Gôvindarâja**, who acquired fame by (*his*) daring in many battles ; (*and*) his self-possessed son (*was*) that unrivalled one, known as the illustrious **Svâmikarâja**, who never turned back from war (*and*) who was (*always*) victorious, and whose great manliness is celebrated everywhere in song.

(L. 8.). — Of him there was born a son, the illustrious **Nandarâja**, highly esteemed by good people, accomplished, handsome, compassionate, free from faults (*and thus resembling the moon, free from spots*), (*but*) a very comet boding evil to (*his*) enemies, fit to be yoked (*in the front rank*) of those whose thoughts are devoted to daring in war, foremost among the haughty, the leader of those whose minds excel in intelligence, (*and*) a very *kalpa*-tree to supplicants.

(L. 13.). — And he, — to whom, as if from a strong desire for the choicest of all resting-places, resort has been made by all the virtuous qualities of an inviting kind,[22] and others also ; who is most kind to Brâhmaṇs ; who is a most devout worshipper of the Divine One (Vishṇu) ; (*and*) who has the other name of the illustrious **Yuddhâsura**, — informs all the *Râjas*, *Sâmantas*, *Vishayapatis*, *Grâmabhôgikas*, and others : —

(L. 16.) — " Be it known to you that by Us, for the increase of the religious merit of (*Our*) parents and of Ourself, to Śrîprabhachaturvêda of the Kautsa *gôtra*, the son's son of Mitrachaturvêda (*and*) the son of Raktaprabhachaturvêda, on the full-moon day of (the month) **Kârttika**, with libations of water there is given the village named **Jalaûkuho**, [thus specified*] by (*its*) boundaries ; (*viz.*) to the west of (the village of) **Kinihivaṭṭâra**, to the north of (the village of) **Pipparikâ**, to the east of (the village of) **Jaluka**, (*and*) to the south of the village of **Arjunagrâma**.

(L. 22.). — " Wherefore, (*this*) Our gift should be assented to, and should be preserved, by future kings, whether of Our lineage, or others. And whosoever, having a mind covered over by

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[17] *upalakshitaḥ*, *vituddhaḥ*, or some similar word, has to be supplied here.

[18] The third syllable here is rather doubtful ; but on the whole I think that *ô* was intended.

[19] We have here rather an anomalous character, between the single and the double *s*.

[20] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh) ; and in the following verse.

[21] Read *shaṭsu* ; and for the following syllable see the introductory remarks.

[22] *âbhigâmikâ guṇâḥ* ; see *Comp. Inscr. Indic.* Vol. III. p. 169, note 2.

the dense darkness of ignorance, may confiscate (*this grant*) or assent to its confiscation, he shall become invested with (*the guilt of*) the five great sins."

(L. 26.). — And it has been said by the venerable Vyâsa, the arranger of the Vêdas :— The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (*of this grant that is now made, if he continue it*)! The giver of land abides in heaven for sixty-thousand years; (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell!

(L. 29.). — This charter, written by the *Sâmdhivigrahika* Nâula, has been written in six centuries of years, increased by the thirty-first (year), of the Saka era.

CHANDELLA INSCRIPTIONS.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E., GÖTTINGEN.

I edit these inscriptions from rubbings which were received from General Sir A. Cunningham and supplied to me by Mr. Fleet.

A. — Dudahi Stone Inscriptions of Dêvalabdhi, a grandson of Yaśôvarman.

These six short inscriptions are in a temple of the village of 'Dudahi' or 'Doodhai,' in the Lalitpur District of the North-West Provinces, Indian Atlas, quarter-sheet No. 70 N. W., Long. 78° 27′ E., Lat. 24° 25′ N.; and an account of them, accompanied by photozincographs of five of them, was given by Sir A. Cunningham, in *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. X. pp. 94-95, and Plate xxxii., 1-2, and 4-6.

The inscription **a.** contains eleven lines, which cover a space of 3¼″ broad by 10″ high; **b.**, ten lines, which cover 3″ broad by 8½″ high; **c.**, five lines, which cover 6½″ broad by 4¾″ high; **d.**, three lines, which cover 6½″ broad by 3″ high; **e.** consists of a single line, 6¾″ long; and **f.** also consists of a single line, 4″ long. The average **size of the letters of a.** and **b.** is ⅛″ to ⅛″; of **c.**, **d.**, and **e.**, ⅛″ to ¼″; and of **f.**, one inch. The **characters** of all are Nâgarî, of about the 11th century A.D.; their **language** is Sanskrit, and all are in prose. As regards **orthography**, the consonant *b* of the name *Dêvalabdhi* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*.

The **inscription f.** contains only the name — 'the illustrious **Dêvalabdhi**[1]' and **a.** to **e.** record that this personage erected the temple (*kîrtana*), at which the inscriptions are. In **d.**, **Dêvalabdhi** is described as belonging to the **Chandrêlla** family, and as the son of the illustrious **Krishnapa** and the lady **Âsarvâ**[1] and **a.** to **c.** besides state that he was the grandson of the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* **Yaśôvarman.** This Yaśôvarman undoubtedly is the Chandêlla (or Chandrêtrêya) king Yaśôvarman, of whom we have a long inscription, of the Vikrama year 1011, at Khajurâhô,[2] and who is mentioned as the immediate predecessor of Dhaṅgadêva, in Dhaṅga's copper-plate grant of the Vikrama year 1055, published by me, *ante*, Vol. XVI., p. 202; and our inscriptions, though not dated, may therefore be referred with certainty to about the first half of the 11th century A.D.

The main interest of these inscriptions will probably be considered to lie in this, that they furnish an older form of the name of the royal family which we are here concerned with, — **Chandrêlla**, instead of the later **Chandêlla.** This spelling, *Chandrêlla*, is quite distinct and certain in the rubbings of **b.**; and the rubbings of **a.**, **c.**, and **d.**, too, clearly show that the consonant of the second *akshara* of this name is not simply *d* or *nd*, but has another consonant attached to it, which might possibly be read as *v*, if we did not know from **b.** that it must be *r*.

[1] This somewhat unusual name we meet again, denoting another lady, in line 19 of the Mau inscription of the Chandêlla Madanavarmadêva; *Epigraphia Ind.*, Vol. I. pp. 294, 299.

[2] *Ib.*, Vol. I. p. 122.—Another Yaśôvarman is mentioned, in the Rajôvar inscription of Paramardidêva of the Vikrama year 1212, as the son of Madanavarman and father of Paramardin; but his name is omitted in other accounts of the Chandêlla kings. See *ib.*, Vol. I. p. 211.

The word *Chandrêlla* I take to be a derivative, by means of the Prâkṛit suffix *illa*, from *chandra*, 'the moon,' formed like *Bhâilla* from *bhâs*, and I suspect that the name **Chandrâtrêya** for the members of the same family is really a later word, which owes its origin to a desire of having a somewhat more Sanskṛit-like name.

TEXT.[3]

a. — 1 Mahârâjâdhi-
2 râja-śrî-**Yaśô-**
3 **varmma-naptrâ** śrî-
4 **Kṛishṇapa-sutêna**
5 mâtṛi-śrî-**Âsa-**
6 **rvvâ**[4]-udarôdbhavêna
7 **Chaṁd[r]êll-ânvayêna**
8 śrî-**Dêva[la]vdhi(bdhi)-**
9 **nâ** kîrttanam=i-
10 daṁ sarvva[ṁ] kâri-
11 taṁ ॥

b. — 1 **Chaṁdrêll-ânvaya-**
2 mahârâjâdhi-
3 râja-śrî-**Yaśô-**
4 **varmma-napt[ṛi]**[5]**-śrî-**
5 **Kṛishṇapa-suta-**
6 śrî-**Âsarvvâ-u-**
7 darôdbhava-śrî-**Dê-**
8 **valavdhi(bdhi)yaṁ** kî-
9 rttanam=idaṁ sarvva-
10 m=a[p]i ॥

c. — 1 Mahârâjâdhirâja-śrî-**Yaśô-**
2 **varmma-naptuḥ**[6] śrî-**Kṛishṇapa-suta-**
3 mâtṛi-śrî-**Âsarvvâ-**udarôdbhava-
4 **Chand[r]êll-ânvaya-śrî-Dêvalavdhi(bdhi)yaṁ**
5 sarvva-kîrttanam=idam ॥

d. — 1 Śrî-**Kṛishṇapa-suta-**mâtṛi-śrî-**Â-**
2 **sarvvâ-**udarôdbhava-**Chand[r]êll-ânva[ya*]-śrî-**
3 **Di(dê)valavdhê(bdhê)ḥ** satkaṁ[7] kîrttanam=idam ॥

e. — Śrî-**Dêvalavdhi(bdhê)ḥ** kîrttanam=idam [॥*]

f. — Śrî-**Dêvalavdhi(bdhiḥ)** [॥*]

B. — Dêôgaḍh Rock Inscription of Kîrtivarman.

The (Vikrama) year 1154.

This inscription is on a rock near the river-gate of the Fort of the town of **Dêôgaḍh**, situated at the western end of the table-land of the Lalitpur range of hills, immediately overhanging the river Bêtwa; Indian Atlas, quarter-sheet No. 70 N.W., Long. 78° 18′ E., Lat. 24° 32′ N. A rough transcript of it, accompanied by a photozincograph, was given by Sir A. Cunningham, in *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. X. p. 103, and Plate xxxiii., 3; and it has been re-edited, from Sir A. Cunningham's photozincograph, by Dr. Hultzsch, *ante*, Vol. XI. p. 311.

The inscription contains 8 lines. The **writing** covers a space of 2′ 2″ broad by 1′ 1¼″ high, and is well preserved throughout. The **size of the letters** is about 1¼″. The **characters** are Nâgarî, and many of the letters are peculiar in having a saucer-shaped head formed by a curve under the straight top-line. The **language** is Sanskṛit, and, with the exception of the introductory *ôṁ ôṁ namaḥ Śivâya* and the date at the end, the inscription is in verse. The total number of verses is seven, the first six of which are numbered with the ordinary numeral figures. As regards **orthography**, *b* is denoted by the sign for *v* in *vrahmâṇḍam*, line 8, (but not in *babhûva*, lines 1 and 6, and *-âbdhitaḥ*, line 4); the dental sibilant is used for

[3] From the rubbings.
[4] Read *-ry-Âsarvv-êdar°*, here and below.
[5] Originally *-naptrâ*.
[6] Read *-naptṛi-*.
[7] As in other inscriptions of the period, the word *satka*, 'belonging to,' expresses the meaning of the genitive case or of a possessive suffix, and is here used redundantly.

the palatal in *vaṁśa*, line 1, *subhraṁ*, line 3, and *satrôr*, line 7; and the dental *d* for the lingual *ḍ* in *-ôḍu*, line 4.

The proper object of the inscription is, to record (lines 5-8) that Vatsarâja, a son of Mahîdhara and chief minister of the king **Kirtivarman**, built a flight of steps called "the *Ghat* of the illustrious Vatsarâja," near which the inscription must be supposed to have been engraved. Vatsarâja himself was a native of **Ramaṇipur**, and it is recorded of him that he wrested the surrounding district from the enemy and made "this **Fort of Kirtigiri**;" and his master **Kirtivarman** is described (lines 1-5) as the descendant of the prince **Vijayapâla**, who was a son of **Vidyâdhara**, of the **Chandêlla** family.

The inscription is **dated**, at the end of line 8, in figures only, on **Sunday**, the 2nd of the bright half of Chaitra, of the year 1154. Referring this date to the Vikrama era, the possible equivalents for Chaitra śukla 2 would be: —

for the northern year 1154 current, — Thursday, 28 February, A.D. 1096;

for the northern year 1154 expired, or the southern year 1154 current, — Wednesday, 18 March, A.D. 1097;

for the southern year 1154 expired, — **Sunday, 7 March, A.D. 1098.**

The actual date, therefore, is **Sunday,[1] 7 March, A.D. 1098,** and the calculation shows that the year 1154, mentioned in our record, was **the southern Vikrama year 1154, expired,** i.e. the northern year 1156, current.

As regards the **localities** mentioned, I consider **Kirtigiri-durga** to be **Dêôgaḍh** itself; **Ramaṇipur** I am unable to identify.

TEXT.[2]

1 Ôṁ[3] ôṁ namaḥ Sivâya ॥ **Chandêlla**[4]-vaṁśa(śa)-kumud-êndu-viśâla-kîrttiḥ khyâtô babhûva nṛipa-saṁgha-mat-âṁbhri-padmaḥ ।

2 **Vidyâdharô** narapatiḥ Kamalâ-nivâsô jâtas=tatô **Vijayapâla**-nṛipô nṛip-êndraḥ ॥ 1 ॥ Tasmâd[5]=va(dha)rmma-paraḥ śrîmâ-

3 n=**Kirttivarmma**-nṛipô=bhavat । yasya kîrtti-sudhâ-sn(śn)bhraṁ trai[6]lôkyaṁ saudhatâṁ=agât ॥ 2 ॥ Agaḍaṁ nûtanaṁ Vishṇuṁ=âvirbhûtam=avâpya

4 yam । nṛip-âbhîṣitaḥ samâkṛishṭâ Śrîr=asthairyam=amârjjayat ॥ 3 ॥ Râj[7]-ôḍu(ḍu)-madhya-gato-chandra-nibhasya yasya nûnaṁ Yudhishṭhira-Saḍâśiva-Râmachan-

5 ndrâḥ । êtê prasmna-[guṇa*]-ratnanidhau niviṣṭâ ya[8]t-tad-guṇa-prakara-ratnamayê śarîrê ॥ 4 ॥ Tadîy[10]-âmâtya-mantr-Indrô **Ramaṇipûr**-vviniṛga-

6 taḥ । Vatsarâj=êti vikhyâtaḥ śrîmân=Mahîdhar-âtmajaḥ ॥ 5 ॥ Khyâtô[11] babhûva kila mantri-pad-aika-mûrtê Vâchaspatis=ta-

7 d=iha mantra-supaurushâbhyâm । yô=yaṁ samastam=api maṇḍalam=âśu sa(śa)trôr=âchchhidya **Kirttigiri-durggam**=idaṁ vyadhatta ॥ 6 ॥

8 Śr[12]-Vatsarâja-ghaṭṭô=yaṁ nûnaṁ tên=âtra kâritaḥ । vra(bra)hmâṇḍam=avijvalâṁ kirttim=irôdhayitum=âtmanaḥ ॥ [7 ॥*] Saṁvat **1154** Chaitra-[su][13]di **2** Ravau[14] [॥*]

[1] On that day, the second *tithi* of the bright half ended 2 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise. It may be noted that the initial days of the expired northern Vikrama years 1153, 1154 and 1155 are given wrongly in the *Book of Indian Eras*.

[2] From the rubbings. [3] Expressed by a symbol. [4] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

[5] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh); and of the next verse.

[6] This *akshara* originally was *tri*; but it has been altered to *trai*. [7] Metre, Vasantatilakâ.

[8] The consonant of the first of these two *akshara*s is *g*; but the way in which the vowel *u* has been attached to it, gives to the whole a partial appearance of *ma*. The second vertical stroke of the second *akshara* at the bottom meets the third vertical line, and thus gives to the *ṇ* an unusual shape; but the *akshara* is not *kha*.

[9] This *akshara* is distinctly *ya*, not *sta*. [10] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[11] Metre, Vasantatilakâ. [12] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh).

[13] The consonant of this *akshara* is indistinct, but the vowel *u* is quite clear; and thus we can only read *śu*, not *bu*, as was read by Dr. Hultzsch. The formation of the *akshara* is very cramped, perhaps indicating that it was omitted at first and was inserted on revision; and this is why it appears as *visarga* in Sir A. Cunningham's photozincographs.

[14] This word, *ravau*, is quite clear in the rubbings.

TRANSLATION.

. **Ôm !**

Ôm ! *Adoration to Siva !*

(Verse 1). — There was a renowned prince, **Vidyâdhara**, an abode of Fortune, whose wide-spread fame was to the **Chandêlla race** what the moon is to night-lotuses, (*and*) whose lotus-feet were bowed down to by crowds of princes. From him was born the prince **Vijayapâla**, the chief of princes.

(V. 2). — From him sprang, devoted to the law, the illustrious prince **Kîrtivarman**, brightened by the white-wash of whose fame the three worlds have become a white-washed mansion.

(V. 3). — When Fortune, withdrawn from (*other*) princes, just as (*she was recovered by Vishṇu*) from the sea, came to him who appeared like a new Vishṇu, without his club,[15] she left off (*her*) fickleness.

(V. 4). — Resembling as he does, among kings, the moon moving in the midst of the stars, surely Yudhishṭhira, Sadâśiva,[16] and Râmachandra, (*all*) these have entered his body, (*which is*) abundantly decorated, as with precious stones, with multitudes of manifold excellencies (*and is indeed*) a pellucid sea of excellencies.

(V. 5). — The chief counsellor among his ministers (*is*) the illustrious son of **Mahîdhara**, the renowned Vatsarâja, who has gone forth from **Ramaṇîpur.**

(V. 6). — He indeed became famous, a (*very*) Vâchaspati[17] in his unique office of counsellor, he who, having quickly wrested from the enemy this whole district (*maṇḍala*) here by his counsel and excellent valour, made **this Fort of Kîrtigiri.**

(V. 7). — He indeed caused this flight of steps to be built here, (*called the Ghaṭ*) of the illustrious Vatsarâja, in order to make his bright fame ascend up into the universe.

The year 1154, the 2nd of the bright half of Chaitra, on Sunday.

THE COUNTRY OF MALAKOTTA.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D. ; BANGALORE.

One of the countries, which the Chinese pilgrim **Hiuen-Tsiang** visited on his memorable tour through India, was **Draviḍa** with its capital **Kâñchîpura** (Conjeeveram). He reached Draviḍa from the north, and proceeded from it north-west[1] to Koṅkaṇapura, Mahârâshṭra, and Bharukachchha (Bharôch). Hiuen-Tsiang mentions another country, called **Mo-lo-kiu-ch'a,** which was situated to the south of Draviḍa. According to the *Si-yu-ki*, he visited this country in person,[2] and returned from it to Draviḍa ; while **Hwui-li's** narrative seems to imply, that the pilgrim's report on Mo-lo-kiu-ch'a was based merely on hearsay.[3]

In a former volume of this Journal,[4] the late Dr. Burnell identified Mo-lo-kiu-ch'a with the delta of the **Kâvêrî.** He based this opinion on "the great Tamil inscription of Kulôttuṅga-(Vîra)-Chôḷa (A.D. 1064 to 1113) which surrounds the shrine of the chief temple at Tanjore," and on the mention in it of a village called Malakûṭa-chûḍâmaṇi-chaturvêdi-maṅgalam, which was situated in **Âvûr-kûṟṟam,** *i.e.* in the subdivision of Avûr near **Kumbhakôṇam.** A perusal of the inscriptions of the great temple at Tanjore convinced me that Dr. Burnell's statements

[15] *The word agada also means "free from disease, healthy."*

[16] *Sadâśiva* is an epithet of the god Śiva, and also a proper name of men ; but it is not apparent whom the author of the verse here refers to.

[17] "The lord of speech," — a name of Brihaspati, the teacher of the gods. — The word *mantri-pad-aika-mâtrê* does not admit of a proper grammatical explanation ; I understand it to mean *mantri-padê êkasmin* (i.e. *advitîyê*) *êva.*

[1] Beal's *Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*, p. 146. The *Si-yu-ki* (Vol. II. p. 253) has 'north,' which is impossible.

[2] Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, Vol. II. p. 230, note 123.

[3] *Life*, p. 140.

[4] *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 39f.

require some modifications, which I subjoin here with due respect to that able scholar, who, if he still lived, would gladly approve of a correction of some details of secondary importance. First, the central shrine of the Tanjore temple does not bear only one inscription of about A.D. 1100,[5] but a considerable number of inscriptions of various kings and dates, one of which is dated as late as Śaka 1377 (expired). Secondly, none of the Tanjore inscriptions mentions either Kulŏttuṅga-Chŏḷa or Vira-Chŏḷa. **Kulŏttuṅga-Chŏḍadêva I.** (A.D. 1063-64 to 1112-13), also called **Râjêndra-Chŏḍa** after his maternal grandfather **Râjêndra-Chŏḷadêva**, was the son of the **Eastern Chalukya** king **Râjarâja I.** (A.D. 1022-23 to 1063-64) and inherited the **Chŏḷa** kingdom from his father-in-law, the **Chŏḷa** king **Râjêndradêva**. The two **Chŏḷa** kings, to whose reigns most of the inscriptions of the Tanjore temple belong, are **Râjarâjadêva**, the founder of the temple,[6] and his son **Râjêndra-Chŏḷadêva**, the father-in-law of the **Eastern Chalukya** king **Râjarâja I.** (A.D. 1022-23 to 1063-64), who had received his name from that of his maternal grandfather. The subjoined table, which is based on a number of Sanskrit and Tamil inscriptions, shows the relations of the three above-mentioned Chŏḷa kings to the Eastern Chalukyas, and contains the names of their Western Chalukya contemporaries :—[7]

Western Chalukyas.	Chŏḷas. (*Sûryavaṁśa*).	Eastern Chalukyas. (*Sômavaṁśa*).
1. Satyâśraya II. *fought with*	Râjarâjadêva, *who was the father-in-law of*	Vimalâditya.
(*Śaka* 919 *to about* 930.)	(*about Śaka* 926.)	(*Śaka* 937 (?) *to* 944.)
2. Jayasiṁha III. *fought with*	Râjêndra-Chŏḷadêva, *who was the father-in-law of*	Râjarâja I.
(*about Śaka* 940 *to about* 964.)		(*Śaka* 944 *to* 985.)
3. Âhavamalla II. *fought with*	Râjêndradêva, *who was the father-in-law of*	Râjêndra-Chŏḍa *or* Kulŏttuṅga-Chŏḍadêva I.
(*about Śaka* 964 *to about* 990).		(*Śaka* 985 *to* 1034).

Thirdly, Dr. Burnell states in his paper, that the Tanjore inscriptions mention a village called Malakôṭa-chûḍâmaṇi-chaturvêḍi-maṅgalam. The reference is to an inscription of the 29th year of the **Chŏḷa** king **Kô-Râjakêsarivarman**, *alias* **Râjarâjadêva**, and to an inscription of the 10th year of **Kô-Parakêsarivarman**, *alias* **Râjêndra-Chŏḷadêva**. Each of these two inscriptions reads in clear Tamil and Grantha letters of 2 to 3 inches height :—*Nittavinôda-vaḷa-nâṭṭu Âvûr-(k)kûṟṟattu brahmadêyam Irumbudal-âgiya Manukula-chûḍâmaṇi-(ch)chaturvêḍi-maṅgalattu sabhaiyâr*; "the members of the *sabhâ* of **Irumbudal**, *alias* **Manukula-chûḍâmaṇi-chaturvêḍi-maṅgalam**,[8] a *brahmadêya* in **Âvûr-kûṟṟam**, (a *subdivision*) of **Nittavinôda-vaḷa-nâḍu**." This disposes finally of the possibility of identifying Hiuen-Tsiang's Mo-lo-kiu-ch'a with Kumbhakôṇam, and the name of Malakôṭa has to be struck out on the map, which is prefixed to Dr. Burnell's *South-Indian Palæography*.

The first half of the name **Mo-lo-kiu-ch'a** is no doubt the well-known Dravidian word *malai*, 'a hill' (*mala* in Malayâḷam and *malai* in Tamil), and the second may be connected with *kûṟṟam*, which means 'a division,' or more probably with *kôṭṭam*, which means 'a district' in Tamil inscriptions. Thus **Mo-lo-kiu-ch'a** or **Malakôṭṭa** would be a synonym of **Mala-nâḍu** or **Malai-nâḍu**, 'the Hill-Country.' The former is used in Malayâḷam and the second in Tamil as a designation of the country of Malabar.[9] But, as Hiuen-Tsiang places Malakôṭṭa to the south of Dravida and attributes to it a circuit of 5,000 *li*, General Cunningham[10] is doubtlessly right,

[5] Compare Dr. Burnell's *South-Indian Palæography*, 2nd edition, p. 60 and *passim*.

[6] According to an inscription of his 26th year, the temple was called after him Râjarâjêśvara. Two undated inscriptions record that the *prâkâra* (*tiruchchuṟṟumâḷigai*) of the temple was built at his orders by the commander of his forces (*senâpati*).

[7] For full details see three of my *Progress Reports* (Madras G. O., 27th July 1888, No. 745 ; 6th September 1888, No. 877 ; 7th November 1888, No. 1050) and my forthcoming first volume of *South-Indian Inscriptions*, p. 32 and Nos. 39, 40, 47, 92, 127.

[8] This name means 'the Brâhmanical village (*called after*) Manukula-chûḍâmaṇi (i.e. the crest-jewel of the race of Manu) viz., the Chŏḷa king).'

[9] On this see *Hobson-Jobson* see Yule and Burnell's invaluable *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 411.

[10] *Ancient Geography of India*, Vol. I. p. 549.

if he supposes that it must have included, besides Malabar, the whole southern part of the Madras Presidency beyond the Kâvêri. According to Mr. Beal, the Chinese editor remarks in a note that Malakôṭṭa was also called **Chi-mo-lo**. These syllables are satisfactorily identified by Dr. Caldwell[11] with **Tamiḷa**, the name of the Tamiḷ people, whose country is called **Damirice** (i.e. Tamiḷ-ikam) on the Peutinger Tables.

Four centuries after Hiuen-Tsiang, **the term Malaya** was in use for the same tract. For **Albêrûnî**[12] enumerates the possessions of Jaur (*i.e.* the **Chôḷa**) along the coast in the following order:—Daraur (Draviḍa), Kânjî (Kâñchî), **Malaya**, and Kûnk (Koṅkaṇ). A second enumeration[13] of the countries along the coast begins from the opposite side:—Lârân,[14] with the city of Jimûr, Vallabha, for which **Rashidu'd-din** supplies the correct reading Malaya,[15] Kânjî, and Darvad (Draviḍa). Albêrûnî's first list places **Malaya** between Draviḍa and Kâñchî on one side and the Koṅkaṇ on the other, just as Hiuen-Tsiang places **Malakôṭṭa** between Draviḍa with its capital Kâñchîpura on one side and Koṅkaṇapura on the other. The second list begins from Lâṭa or Gujarât and omits the Koṅkaṇ, though in the preceding sentence it mentions Thâṇâ (on the island of Salsette), which, according to p. 203, was the capital of the Koṅkaṇ.

According to Hiuen-Tsiang, **Malakôṭṭa was bounded** on the south by the **Malaya** mountains, which bordered the sea, and in which sandal-trees were found. To the east of the Malaya mountains was Mount **Pôtalaka**, on the top of which was a lake from which there flowed a great river, and which was the residence of the *Bôdhisattva* **Avalôkitêśvara**. Going north-east from this mountain, on the border of the sea, there was a town, from which people embarked for **Ceylon**.

In Sanskṛit and Malayâḷam, **the term Malaya** is applied to the Western Ghâṭs, and the sandal is called *Malaya-ja*, *i.e.* 'the produce of Malaya.' In Tamiḷ, **Malayam** or **Malaiyam**, besides being used in the same sense, is the name of another mountain, which is also called **Chandanâchala** or **Chandanâdri** (*i.e.* 'the mountain of the sandal'), **Podigai** or **Podiyam**, which is supposed to be the residence of the sage **Agastya**, and after which the **Paṇḍya** king is called **Podiya-verpan** (*i.e.* 'the lord of the mountain Podiyam'). Dr. Caldwell[16] states that the source of the **Tâmraparṇî** river is in the mountain **Podigai**, and identifies the latter with Ptolemy's Βυττιγὼ, in which the Χολὴν took its rise. In a footnote of his paper on **Pôtalaka**,[17] Mr. Beal suggests, with some diffidence, that Hiuen-Tsiang's Pôtalaka might be the same as Podigai and as Ptolemy's Βυττιγὼ. It seems to me that the agreement between the two words Podigai and Pôtalaka is close enough to justify this identification, which struck me independently before I had seen Mr. Beal's paper. The river mentioned by Hiuen-Tsiang would then be intended for the **Tâmraparṇî**. According to Târanâtha's *History of Buddhism*,[18] **Pôtala** was the name of a mythical mountain (pp. 141, 142 f., 223) in the south (p. 139), the seat of **Avalôkitêśvara**. On the way to it, the ocean (p. 157), a great river, and a lake, had to be crossed (p. 142). This myth of the northern Buddhists must have been known to Hiuen-Tsiang, and the change of **Podiyam** or **Podigai** into **Pôtala** or **Pôtalaka** may be due to a popular etymology, which Hiuen-Tsiang made either unconsciously or from a desire to connect the information collected on his visit to Southern India with that contained in his holy books. From similar motives, either Hiuen-Tsiang or his Buddhist informants seem to have transformed **Agastya**, who is supposed to reside on Podigai, into the *Bôdhisattva* **Avalôkitêśvara**.

In the case of the **Malaya** mountains, it must be assumed that Hiuen-Tsiang was misinformed, if he placed them to the south instead of the west of Malakôṭṭa. As for an

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[11] *Comparative Grammar*, 2nd edition, p. 14 of the Introduction.

[12] Albêrûnî's *India*, translated by Sachau, Vol. I. p. 200. [13] *ibid.* p. 209.

[14] Lârân is the same as Lâr-dêsh, *i.e.* Lâṭa-dêśa or Gujarât, on p. 205. Jimûr or Saimûr is probably the modern Chaul; see Yule and Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.*

[15] Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*, Vol. I. p. 66.

[16] *Comparative Grammar*, 2nd edition, p. 100 f. of the Introduction.

[17] *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, New Series, Vol. XV. p. 388.

[18] Translated from Tibetan into German by Schiefner, St. Petersburg, 1869.

identification of the port-town to the north-east of Mount Pôtalaka, Mr. Beal's quotations from **I-tsing**[19] show that shortly after Hiuen-Tsiang's time the port for Ceylon was **Nâgavadana.** Accordingly, the town, which Hiuen-Tsiang mentions, seems to be intended for **Nâgapaṭṭaṇam** or Negapatam in the Tanjore District.

The **unnamed capital of Malakôṭṭa** is placed by Hiuen-Tsiang 3,000 *li* to the south of Kâñchîpura, and by Hwui-li 3,000 *li* or so from the frontier between Draviḍa and Malakôṭṭa. As General Cunningham points out,[20] even the first mentioned distance would take us out to sea beyond Cape Comorin and must have been exaggerated by the pilgrim's informants. Mr. Beal, who identifies Chi-mo-lo (see above) with the Tamiḻ **Kumari** (Sanskṛit: Kumârî), thinks of Cape Comorin itself. But there is no tradition of a capital having been situated there. Perhaps Hiuen-Tsiang refers to **Koṛkai** in the Tinnevelly District, the Κόλχοι of the *Periplûs* and of Ptolemy, which was, according to Dr. Caldwell, the ancient capital of the **Pâṇḍyas.**[21]

THE BALLAD OF THE GUJARI.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

I give the text and translation of this **celebrated Gujarâtî ballad** as it is sung at Aḥmad-âbâd. In other parts, especially in Sûrat, a somewhat different version obtains. This version contains a curious admixture of Hindustânî and Gujarâtî words. The ballad is of the class called *gurbâ*, and is sung by women who form themselves into a ring round a lighted lamp, and sing the verses as they go round and round, beating time with their hands.

TRANSLATION.

The Ballad of the Gujarî.[1]

The Bâdśâh is on his way to invade Kâbul and all the ministers of Dilhî are with him.
The Bâdśâh takes up his abode in a garden: on what pretext shall I go to have a look (at them)?
I shall take a red earthen pot in my hand and go (dressed) as a dairy-maid. The Bâdśâh, &c.
(Her) skirt of brocade, and a gold border to (her) *sâḍî*;
Kallâṅ,[2] and *kâṅbî*,[2] and *aṇvaṭ*, *bîchhuṅvâ*,[2] and *jhâñjar*[2] jingling (on her person);
Armlets round her arms, and rings on all her ten fingers;
Kalâphuls[2] adorning her ears, and a costly *jhâl*[2] glistening;
Pâṭîyâṅ[2] adorning her throat, and a single-string necklace round her neck;
Her cloth (*sâḍî*) being of green *gajî*,[3] and the necklace of pearls;
A ring adorning her nose, and a brilliant red mark glistening on her brow:
She made (some) curds in a small earthen pot, and took the best of milk (with her):
(Thus arrayed) the Gujarî set forth to sell curds, and arrived at the Bâdśâh's *darbâr*,
(And cried) — "Who'll buy my curds! who'll buy my sweet milk!"
Says her mother-in-law,[4] — "Listen daughter-in-law, do not go into the camp,
Or the Bâdśâh of the city of Dilhî will keep thee in his palace."
The daughter-in-law heeds not the mother-in-law and goes forth to sell (her) curds:
Goes forth the Gujarîâṅ[5] to sell curds and takes her seat in the Lâl Bajâr.
The Bâdśâh being informed (of this) comes to have a look at the Gujarî.

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[19] *Life*, p. xxxi.; *Si-yu-ki*, Vol. II. p. 233, note 131.
[20] *Ancient Geography of India*, Vol. I. p. 549.
[21] For references on Korkai see Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 312.
[1] The word *gujarî* means 'a Gujarâtî woman.'
[2] Names of different gold and silver ornaments for women.
[3] *gajî* is a sort of silk fabric manufactured in Gujarât, so called from its being just one *gaj* (= *ghas* = ¾ of a yard) in width.
[4] This ought to have come before the two preceding lines.
[5] The same as Gujarî.

"Why do you go about lanes and alleys, fair one, you ought to live behind the *pardá*."
"The lanes and alleys are good enough for me, to thy *pardá* I shall set fire."
"Thou art a base-born Hindwáṇí, thus to give (impertinent) retorts to thy sovereign!"
Says the Bádsháh, "Listen Gujarí, listen to what I have to say.
"What is the use of wearing ornaments of base metals, fair one? You ought to wear a *sér* of gold."
"My ornaments of base metals are good enough for me, to thy gold I shall set fire."
"Thou art," &c.
"What is this black coarse cloth that you wear, fair one? You ought to wear Dakhaṇí silks."[6]
"My black coarse cloth is good enough for me, to thy (Dakhaṇí) silks I shall set fire."
"Thou art," &c.
"I have a wonderfully fine elephant, fair one; come and have a look at my elephant."
"What is there to look at in thy elephant? I have some grey cow-buffaloes at home,
"That give a *man*[7] and a quarter of milk each time, and they are (therefore) far better than thy elephant."
"Thou art," &c.
"My moustache is wonderfully formed, fair one; be allured by my moustache."
"What is there to look at in thy moustache? It is only like the tuft of hair at the end of my goats' tails!"
"Thou art," &c.
"Which is your parents-in-law's house? And to what man are you wife?"
"The Fort of Gókul is my parents-in-law's house, and to the man Chandá I am wife."
"Thou art," &c.
"To what country dost thou belong, shepherdess? And what is thy name?"
"I am (the) shepherdess of Fort Máṇḍav, and Ménâ the Gujarí is my name."
"Now fix the price of your small earthen pot; and, fair one, what may be its price?"
"If I name the price of my small earthen pot, thy senses would desert thee!"
"Thou art," &c.
"What is this meaningless jargon that thou talkest, fair one? Talk sense.
"With what arrogance thou speakest, fair one! I could give thee two or four slaps[8]!"
"Do not think I am alone (unprotected): nine *lákhs* of my Gujars will come down (to defend me)!
"I will give thee such a slap that thy turban will roll off thy head, and thy face will grow red!
"I will cause thy ponies to be sold for a *ṭaká* each, and thy camels at ten to a *dammí*:[9]
"I will cause thy shields to be sold at a *ṭaká* apiece, and thy swords at two *kórís* (cowries) each!"
The Bádsháh was enraged at this and had her cast into irons.
"I entreat thee brother Bráhman:[10] I will give thee the necklace (that is) next my heart,
"If thou wilt go and give this letter into the hands of my husband's brother, Hírlya."[11]
When Hírlya read the letter (he said to his brother) — "Brother, our Gujarí has been cast into prison."
(And then he said to the soldiers,) — "Gird on tightly your shields and swords, brothers, and gird on tightly all your weapons:
"Let only those who are brave of heart accompany us, for cowards are not wanted (where we shall go).

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[6] Costly silks manufactured in the Dakhaṇ.
[7] An Indian weight equal to about 80 lbs.
[8] Here there is a pun on the two meanings of the word ऊकड, अकड, ऊकड meaning 'with arrogance' and ऊकड again meaning 'a slap.'
[9] One-twenty fourth part of an ánd.
[10] The scene changes here, and the Gujarí addresses a young Bráhman.
[11] Note that it is improper for a Hindu wife to address her husband even by letter.

"Put on saffron-coloured robes[12] brothers, and all grow red as *gulâl*."
And Hîrîya ran from thence and went to his charger: —
"Tie[13] the girths of your saddles tight and ride with loose reins;
"For I mean to return home after conquering Dilhî and thus preserve my prestige."
And (so saying) Hîrîya mounted his horse and nine *lâkhs* of Gujars mounted (theirs).
As Hîrîya entered (the city of Dilhî) the Vâṇiyâs[14] fled before him;
And as Chandâ's horse galloped in, the dairy-men[15] fled before him.
The cannon boomed forth loudly and all around became pitch-dark,
(Which) awoke the sleeping Bâdśâh, and ninety-two *lâkhs* of Mugals poured into the field.
The large copper drum was sounded and all other drums took up its roar.
On the fourteenth day of the month of Phâgaṇ the affair was in full swing.
After a long silence the Gujarî spoke and spoke but one word: —
"Let Hîrîya wear my bangles,[16] and let me have his arms,
"And I shall fight with the Bâdśâh in such a brave manner as to immortalize my name."
"Pitch tents in a row on two sides[17] and leave an open space in the middle,
"And let the Gujarî stand in that vacant space, brothers, and he who wins her may take her."
Upon this Hîrîya and Chandâ said (to the Bâdśâh) — "Râjâ,[18] listen to what we say:
"It becomes you to give the first blow, for we are only your subjects."
And the Bâdśâh dealt the first blow in the Gujar army.
And Hîrîya and Chandâ, becoming enraged, fell (upon the Mugal army) like tigers among goats.
And swords clashed against one another and a shower of blood rained down.
(At last being vanquished the Bâdśâh says) — "We give your Gujarî (back) into your charge, (for) to us the Gujarî is as a sister."

TEXT.

गुजरीनो गरबो.

के काबुलपर बादशाह चढे, ने सारी दिल्हिका दीवानरे
के बादशाहारे उतरे बागमे, मैं क्या मस देखन जाउंरे
के हाथमें लेउ लाल मटुकी, कंदोयण होके जाउंरे
—के बादशाहा,
के फुलफगरनो घाघरो, ने साळुडं[19] कसबी कोररे
के कळाइं कांबी ने अणवट बीछुंवा, झांझरनो झमकाररे
के हाथे बाजुबंध बेरखा ने, एनी दशो आंगळीए वेढरे
के काने कलाफुल शोभतां, ने वळी हाथके मोंघी झालरे
के कोटे ते पाटीआं शोभतां, एने कंठे एकावळ हाररे
के [illegible]ली ते गजीनुं कापडुंरे, एने गळे मोतीनो हाररे
के [illegible]के ते वाळी शोभती, एने टीलडी[20] तपे ललाटरे
के [illegible]टी मटकीमे दही जमायो, दुध लोभो खुब सारोरे
के [illegible]ली गुजरीआं[21] दही वेचनकुं, आई बादशाहाके दरबाररे
के अयर लो कोइ महीयर[22]ल्यो, कोइ लोने मीठडां[23] दुधरे
के सासुरे कहे सुणो ववरीआं[24], लश्करमे मत जावरे

[12] Saffron-coloured robes are worn as a sign that the army is determined either to conquer or to die to a man.

[13] Addressing the soldiers.

[14] A caste known for their cowardice, as well as for their aversion to destroy life either human or animal.

[15] Being of the same caste as Vâṇiyâs. This is sarcasm.

[16] In order to insinuate that Hîrîya was a coward.

[17] It is not plain who makes this proposal.

[18] The Hindu brothers address the (*sic*) Mugal as "Râjâ" after their own fashion.

[19] साळुडे used poetically for साडीओ or साडो 'to the sâdî;' साडी or साडो being the proper word for the long piece of cloth that Indian women wrap round their bodies, and draw as a veil over their heads.

[20] टीलडी used poetically for टीली, the red mark that all women (except widows) make on their brows.

[21] गुजरीआ used poetically for गुजरी.

[22] अयर लो कोइ महींयर लो, &c. अयर and महींयर are reduplicated words, though somewhat separated. महींयर is a poetical form of महीं, an equivalent of दहीं, 'curds.'

[23] मीठडा poetical form of मीठा 'sweet.'

[24] ववरीया used poetically for वव, Hindustânî for 'daughter-in-law.'

के दिल्ही शेहरका बादशाहा, तुजे रखे मोहलन[25] मांहरे
के सासुनां वार्यो ना वरे वहु, महीं बेचवाने जायरे
के चली गुजरीआं महीं बेचनकुं, बेठी लाल बजाररे
के बादशाहाकु तो खबर हुइने, गुजरी देखन आयरे
के अलीयांरे गलीयां[26] क्या फीरना गोरी, पेठो पडवा मांहरे
के अलीयांरे गलीयां बोहोत भली, तेरे पडदेकु लगा दउं आगरे
के हिंदवाणी तुं हरामजादी बादशाहकु देवे जवाबरे
के बादशाह कहेवे सुण गुजरी, तुम सुणो हमारी बातरे
के काथ कथीरमां क्या पेहरना, गोरी पेहेरो सोना सेररे
के काथ कथीर[27] मेरा बोहोत भला, तेरे सोने लगा दऊं आगरे—के हिंद
के काली कामलने क्या ओढना, गोरी पेहेरो दखणी चीररे
के काली कामळ मेरे बोहत भली, तेरे चीरकु लगा दउं आगरे—के हिंद
के मकना हाथी अजब बना, गोरी हाथी देखन आवरे
के तेरे हाथीमें क्या देखनां, मेरे घेरे भूरी भेंसरे
के टंके सवामण दुध करे तारा हाथीथी भलेरी[28] मारी भेंसरे—के हिंद
के मेरी मुछो अजब बनी, गोरी मुछोपर मोही आवरे
के तेरी मुछोमे क्या देखना, मेरे बकरे जेसा पूछरे—के हिंद
के कयुं तमारुं सासरुं, ने कीया पुरुष घेरे नाररे.
के गढ गोकुल मारुं सासरुं, ने चंदा पुरुष घेरे नाररे—के हिंद.
के कोण देशकी गोवालणी, ने शुं छे तारुं नामरे.
के गढ मांडवकी गोवालणी, ने मेना गुजरी मारुं नामरे—के हिंद.
के छोटी मटकीका मूल करां ने, गोरी उस[illegible] क्या होय मूलरे.
के छोटी मटकीका मूल करुं ने, तेरी शुद्ध बुद्ध[29] जाव भूलरे—के हिंद
के गलबल गलबल क्या बोलती, गोरी बोलो समजकी बातरे.
के अकड छकड[30] गोरी क्या बोलती, कई छकड लगाउं दो चाररे.
के तूं नव जाणीश एकलीरे, मारा गुजर चढे नव लाखरे.
के मारुं तमाचा ने उड जाय पघडी, मुखडा हो जाय लालरे.
के टके टके तेरा टटु बेचांउं ने दमडीका दश उंटरे.
के टके टके तेरी ढाल बेचांऊं ने दो कोडी तलवाररे.
के बादशाहाकु तो घुस्सा लगा, ने डाली बेडी मांयरे.
के ब्राह्मण वीरा विनवुं, तमे आलुं हैयांनो हाररे ,
के कागल जईने आलजे, मारा हीरीआ दीयरने हाथरे
के हीरीए कागळ वांचीओ भाइ गूजरी पडी बेडी मांयरे.
के ताणी बांधो भाई ढाल तलवारो ने ताणी बांधो हथीयाररे.
के शुरा होय सो संग चले ने, नहि कायरका कामरे.
के केसरीआ भाइ वागा पेहेरो, ने हो जाव लाल गुलालरे,
के त्यांथी हीरीयो दोडीयो ने, गयो घोडानी पासरे,
के ताणीने बांधो तंगडो ने, ढीली मेलो लगामरे.
के दिल्ही जीतीने घेर आउंतो, रेवत मारुं नामरे.
के हीरीयो घोडे एकज चढ्यो ने गुजर चढ्या नव लाखरे.
के हीरीयो पेठो शहेरमां ने, वाणीया नाठा जायरे.
के चंदे घोडो खेडीयो ने, कंदोइ[27] नाठा जायरे.
के तोपोकी धुमरोळ हुइ ने हुवा अंधारा घोररे.
के सुतो बादशाह जागीयो ने, मुगल चढ्या बाणु लाखरे.
के तांबांनी नांबत गणगणे, जेना ढमके वाग्यां ढोलरे.
के फागण सुद चौदसने दहाडे मामलो मच्यो जोररे.
के गुजरी रहीने बोलीआं ने बोली एकज बोलरे
के हीरीयो पेहेरे बांगडी ने हथीआर मुजने आलरे
के बादशाह साथ एसी लडुं मेरा जुगमां हो जाय नामरे.
के अगाडी पछाडी देरा ताणो, बीचमे रखो मेदानरे.
के वचमां राखो गूजरी भाइ, जे जीते ते लेइ जायरे.
के हीरीयो ने चंदीओ बोलीआ, राजा[30] सांभळो अमारी वातरे.
के पेहेलो ते घाव वळी तमे करो ने, अमे तमारी रैयतरे.
के पेहेलो ते घाव बादशाहे कीधो, गुजर लश्कर मांयरे.
के हीरीयो चंदीओ घुस्से थया, जेम बकरांमां पडीया वाघरे.
के तलवारोनी ताळी पडे ने, लोहीनो वरस्यो मेघरे.
के तमारी गुजरी तमने सुंपी गुजरी हमारी बेनरे.

[25] मोहोलन used poetically for मोहोल Hindustânî for 'palace.'

[26] अलीयां रे गलीया reduplicated words: गलीयां meaning 'lanes.'

[27] काथ कथीर reduplicated words: कथीर meaning 'base metal.'

[28] भलेरी used poetically for भली, 'good:' there being no comparative form in Gujarâtî, भली 'good' is used for 'better,' with the [illegible] थी, 'than,' added to the preceding word हाथी.

[29] शुद्ध बुद्ध also reduplicated words, both words separately meaning 'sense, reason.'

[30] अकड छक [illegible] reduplicated words, अकड meaning 'with arrogance.'

MISCELLANEA.

PROGRESS OF EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP.

No. XVII.

Revue de L'Histoire des Religions.

The **Revue de L'Histoire des Religions**, published in Paris, by Leroux, is a periodical which is not so well known in India as it deserves to be. Its purpose is indicated by its name, for it is purely historical, and excludes all polemic and dogmatic matter. The following are some of the articles which have appeared during the last three years, and which will be of interest to Indian students.

(*a*)—*Vol. XIV. No. 1, July and August, 1886.*

M. E. de Pressensé contributes an interesting article on the **Chaldæo-Assyrian Religion**, divided into three parts, *viz.* I., Its sources; II., The phases of the religious evolution; III., The Assyrian religion. The religion is traced from an animism full of despair and terror overmastering men who are everywhere surrounded by the evil powers of the river, the wind, the storm, and the miasma. It was then a religion of charms and exorcisms, of appeals to kindly deities for protection, and of talismans. The superior elements contained in it eventually developed in a regular mythological evolution. Thus we find gradually coming into prominence, **Anna**, the god of the sky, **Ea**, of earth, and **Mulge**, of the lower abyss; each of whom was a male deity, with his spouse, a kind of feminine hypostasis of his attributes. These gods had so far no distinct personality, and it was they who war with the evil spirits, authors of ill. Prayer occupied the first place in this cult, but sacrifice is also mentioned, though destitute of elevation or morality. Such was the religion of the **Accadians**, which received a further development through the influence of the **Semitic Kushites**. We now find the fundamental idea of a divine unity in a pantheistic sense. The hidden God, who contains all things within himself, manifests himself in a diversity of phenomena. Secondary gods, ranged below him, only personify his attributes. The god is **Ilu**, Babylon is his city,- the city of Ilu;—and from him emanates the first triad—

Anu, or primordial chaos,

Bel, the Demiurge,

Nuah, the saviour, the intelligent guide.

Each of these three has his corresponding feminine divinity, *viz.* **Anat**, **Bélit**, and **Tihamti**, respectively. A second triad is composed of the sun, the moon, and the atmosphere, who are followed by the five planets.

Really this new mythology is the same conception as that of the ancient **Chaldæans**, with a sidereal element in addition. We have the same mysterious supreme god, whether called Ilu or Anna. The first triad corresponds to the old three regions of the universe. Only the feminine element occupies a more important position in the new pantheon, **Anat**, **Bélit**, and **Istar** (the planet Venus) representing it in its fecundity and in its sexual pleasure. It is this which explains the compulsory prostitution of every woman in the temple at Babylon.

Assyria, in possessing itself of Babylon, and founding its immense empire, changed nothing but one name in the Chaldæan pantheon. It raised its god **Assur** to the dignity of the Supreme God, but without essentially modifying the character of the latter. It, however, gave him a striking personification upon earth, in the person of its conquering king, and from this point history becomes an important factor in the development of religion.

The king described his victories as brought about by Assur.—"The god Assur, my lord, told me to march forth, &c." The splendid palaces raised to the glory of the king were temples of that magnificent royalty of which the god Assur was the august type. This striking representation of the victorious war of the national deities against evil powers became a real religion, and we thus emerge from the placid sidereal pantheon of the Chaldæans, although, after all, the new element is simply superimposed over the primitive basis of the ancient religion.

But beside the development of the official religion, a sense of personal sin grew up gradually amongst the Chaldæans. The voice of conscience began to be heard, purifying the cowardly terrors of superstition. It is impossible that this development of conscience should not have co-existed with an idea, more or less confused, of retribution in a future life. We thus find a privileged place awarded to valiant soldiers in the abode of the dead. But it is to Assyria that is owed a new development in the conception of the future life. We now find a distinct progress in the idea of retribution attached to a future life. We find two frightful monsters, representing retributive torments, in the lower regions, and above, on the earth, the dead placed between two protecting gods. There is therefore recourse to the gods against the terrible power of hell.

(*b*)—*Vol. XIV. No. 3, Nov. and Dec. 1886.*

(1) M. Edouard Montet describes the Persian Drama, and its intimate connexion with

religion. It is a modern growth, contemporary with the decline of Persian political influence, and with the religious revival marked by the rise of Babism.

The tragic dramas are founded, like miracle-plays, on religious subjects, the theme being the death of the descendants of 'Ali. The authors are generally unknown, and the actors take great liberties with the text. They are of inordinate length, one play lasting a whole Muharram, which is the season at which they are usually performed. A play begins with the history of Joseph, his sojourn in the well being considered a type of Hussain's capture. Thence we are taken day by day through the religious history of the Shi'as, the last act transporting us to the resurrection, in which Jacob, Joseph, Abraham, David, Solomon, Noah, Muhammad, 'Ali, Fátima, Hassan, Hussain, &c., come to life. While the patriarchs and kings of Israel only think of their own salvation, Muhammad and his descendants intercede for sinners, who, saved by the blood shed at the Karbala, enter into paradise. The final moral is, therefore, that the belief of the Shi'as is the only true religion.

(2) M. L. Feer discusses **Vritra and Namuchi** as described in the *Mahábhárata*. Indra's combat with Vritra is described twice in that poem, once in the *Vana-Parva* (*Slóka* 8691), and once in the *Udyóga-Parva* (*Slóka* 239). M. Feer maintains that, as these two accounts are mutually irreconcilable, the latter must refer to Namuchi, and not to Vritra. References to the Vèdic traditions show that Vritra and Namuchi are confused at a very early period. They both represent the storm-clouds, which only yield to the god of the thunderbolt after a terrific combat.

(c)—*Vol. XV. No. 1, January and February, 1887.*

Mr. Paul Regnaud discusses the meaning of the Vèdic adjective **amúra**, which Roth translates as "infallible" (connecting it with the root *mar*, 'break'), and Grassmann and Ludwig, as 'not benumbed,' 'wise' (connecting it with a root *már*, nearly related to *márchh*, and signifying, 'be stupid'). M. Regnaud prefers the latter interpretation, comparing the Sanskrit *márta*, 'dried,' 'hardened,' *márti*, 'a hard thing,' whence 'a material form'; the Greek *μωρός* 'a fool;' and the Latin *môles* and *mûrus*. 'The common idea of the whole family is 'the condition of dryness.'

In the three passages in the *Rig-Vèda*, in which *márta* and *amárta* are opposed, *márta* designates men (the benumbed), and *amárta*, the gods (the awakened). Comparing this with the cognate terms *marta-amṛita*, it seems as if the original meaning of the root *mar*, 'to die,' was 'to be dry, hard, unmovable.'

(d)—*Vol. XVI. No. 1, July and August, 1887.*

(1) M. Paul Regnaud discusses the **Vèdic** word **rita**, which is usually translated 'that which is applied.' The objection to this is that it is not the root *ar* (*ri*), but its causal, which means 'to apply.' When the primitive form is used in this sense, it has the prefix *á*, *prati*, or *sam*.

Ar means properly 'to go,' 'to set oneself in movement,' hence 'to reach,' 'to bring oneself near to,' which explains the meaning of the causative, 'to cause to approach,' 'to join,' 'to adapt.'

Ṛita, therefore corresponds, primitively, to the idea 'set in motion'; but we see from the Sanskrit *ṛíju*, Latin *rec-tus*, German *recht*, &c., (root *arj*, *raj*, 'to go,' 'to advance,' 'to approach') that the meaning of 'right,' at first physically, and afterwards morally, naturally proceeds from that of 'set in motion,' 'sent forth,' 'directed.' It seems, therefore, to M. Regnaud, that there is little doubt that *ṛita* eventually came to mean 'that which is good,' 'that which is just,' 'that which should be done,' through the idea of 'right,' 'in right line.' Its contrary is *an-ṛi-ta*, a word of which the meaning 'not right,' 'false,' has remained in the earlier stage. The use of the word *ṛité*, 'without,' is also easily explained by the original meaning of 'set in motion'; *ṛité tvat* means 'being set in motion to depart from thee,' or simply 'separated from thee,' 'removed from thee,' 'without thee.'

(2) The same number contains a translation into French by M. J. A. Decourdemanche of the Turkish **Akhláq-i-Hamidi** of Muhammad Sa'íd Effendi. The work is a treatise on Muhammadan morals. The translation is continued in the following number, and concluded in the first No. of Vol. XVII.

(e)—*Vol. XVI. No. 2, September and October, 1887.*

(1) Dr. Ign. Goldziher gives an interesting paper on the **Monotheism of the Musalmans.**

(2) M. Paul Regnaud follows with a note on **jeux de mots in the Vèdas.** These are puns, but are natural and not intentional. The authors, instead of deliberately playing upon a twofold meaning, are misled by it. Thus *Agni* is properly Fire, and more specially the Fire of Sacrifice, but he is first of all the brilliant one (root *ak*, *aksh*), and as such is a *dèva*, 'a god' (root *dio*, to be brilliant). In this way he gets all the characteristics of the *dèvas*.

So also Indra was primitively the brilliant, or the burning one (root *ind*, *indh*) and therefore a *dèva* But, as brilliant and burning, he has become the ardent, the energetic one,—whence his struggles and his victories.

(f)—Vol. XVII. No. 1, January and February, 1888.

(1) This number contains an interesting review, impossible to summarise satisfactorily, being a summary itself, by M. Eugène Monseur, of Dr. Meyer's work on the **Myth of Achilles.** The foundation of the **Iliad** appears to Dr. Meyer to have been a little poem, the **Achilleis**, composed, about 850 B.C., by a singer of genius, who was possibly called **Homer**. This poem consisted of three parts; the first, the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon; the second, the defeat of the Achæans, and the exploits of Agamemnon; and the third, the victory of Achilles over Xanthe and Hector. This legend is then worked out with its parallels in other Âryan nationalities, including India and Germany. As already explained, it is impossible to summarise this portion of the article, which is that most interesting to Indian students. As a rule, Peleus is compared with Purûravas, Thetis with Urvaśî, and Achilles with Aya and Arjuna.

(2) In the same number M. Paul Regnaud combats Professor Max Müller's theory of the **Sources of Mythology**, and maintains:—

(i) In the beginning, language was applied to objects, rather than to the thinking and speaking subject.

(ii) The conscient idea or image of the objects is anterior to the names which they have received, and can remain independent even after the creation of the names.

(iii) Mythology, which is developed by the help of words, took its birth independently, and rests on an alternate basis which is logical and psychological rather than verbal.

(g)—Vol. XVII. No. 2, March-April, 1888.

This number contains a long review, by M. J. Halévy, of Prof. Sayce's Hibbert Lectures on the **Religion of the Ancient Babylonians.**

GEO. A. GRIERSON.

THE BODLEIAN COLLECTION OF COINS.

The richness of the **cabinet of coins** under the care of the Curators of the **Bodleian Library** is not, I think, generally known. In his recently issued valuable report Mr. E. B. Nicholson, Bodley's Librarian, states that "the Bodleian collection of coins and medals numbers upwards of 50,000 pieces, and is the second largest in the empire."[1]

A printed catalogue of its contents was issued in 1750, but since that time many additions had been made, and the coin-room had been so much neglected that it was of very little service to students. Mr. Nicholson passes lightly over the evidence of his predecessors' neglect, though he ventures to remark that "it may pretty safely be said that at the beginning of 1884, the collection was not known to contain half as many pieces as were actually in it."

In 1884 the Librarian undertook the reorganization of the department. His first work was to examine the multitude of cabinets, and to turn out of the coin-room the hundreds of trays found to be empty. The contents of the remaining trays and the loose coins were then sorted and roughly counted by the Library staff with the assistance of Mr. C. W. C. Oman, Fellow of All Souls, the late Mr. Vaux, F.R.S., and Mr. C. P. Shipton.

The result obtained from the rough counting was that the collection was found to contain in all 50,417 coins, of which 22,677 pieces have been arranged, more or less accurately, and 19,771 have been catalogued in 48 catalogues.

The Oriental class of coins is defined as "including those of all countries east of the Euphrates, those of autonomous Judæa, and all Muhammadan coins." This class comprises 5,249 specimens, of which 2,038 are returned as arranged, and 1,171 as catalogued in one catalogue.

The statistics above quoted are for Nov. 8, 1884. Since that date the Clarendon Press has published an illustrated catalogue of the Muhammadan coins, compiled by Mr. Stanley Lane Poole, "the first Bodleian coin-catalogue issued for 138 years."

"In 1884-85 Mr. Oman arranged and labelled the Roman Republican coins in terms of Cohen's *Monnaies de la République Romaine.* The subsequent appearance of Babelon's still more complete work made it desirable that the latter should be substituted as the standard of reference, and an adaptation has been carried out by the Librarian as far as the coins without family-name are concerned.

"In 1886 Mr. Oman began to arrange and label the 'Greek' series in terms of the corresponding volumes of the British Museum coin-catalogues, and at the end of 1887 had finished the sections comprised in the volumes lettered 'Italy,' 'Sicily,' 'Thrace, etc.,' 'Macedon, etc.,' 'Thessaly to Ætolia,' 'Central Greece,' 'Crete and Ægean Islands,' and 'Seleucid kings of Syria:' he had also provisionally arranged the sections for Attica and the Peloponnese, the volumes corresponding to which had not then been issued."

In 1888 I examined the Gupta series of Indian coins in the collection, and supplied the Librarian with a manuscript catalogue of the gold and

[1] *The Bodl[illegible] [illegible]ibrary in 1882-87.* A Report from the Librarian. Published by permission of the Curators. Oxford; Decem[illegible] [illegible]88.

copper pieces, and some brief notes ... pieces, in accordance with which the se... promptly re-arranged. My notes have since be... published in full in my paper entitled "The Coinage of the Early or Imperial Gupta Dynasty of Northern India," which appeared in the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society for January, 1889.

The Bodleian collection of Gupta coins is specially distinguished by the unique specimen of Kumâragupta's coinage. I found two small copper coins of Chandragupta among the unclassed specimens, and, since the publication of the paper referred to, five or six more examples of the copper money of the same king have been rescued from the crowd of unassigned coins.

The time at my disposal did not permit me to examine in detail the other classes of early Indian coins, but a hasty glance at some trays showed me that the collection includes many examples of the coinage of the Mitra kings, and other ancient pre-Muhammadan dynasties of India.

A catalogue of the Bodleian Buddhist and Hindu coins cannot well be attempted until the British Museum leads the way by cataloguing its possessions of the kind, and unfortunately the difficulties in the way of such an undertaking are very formidable. But in time these difficulties will doubtless be surmounted by the energy of Mr. R. S. Poole and his able colleagues, which has already triumphed over so many obstacles, and it will then be easy to complete the catalogue of the Bodleian numismatic treasures.

15*th March* 1889. V. A. SMITH.

THE TITHI OF A SAMKRANTI.

In the saṁkrânti-phala of Ganpat Krishnaji's almanac for Saka-Saṁvat 1799 (expired) (A.D. 1877-78), there is the following passage: — Svasti; śrîman-nṛipa-Vikramârka-samay-âtîta-saṁvat 1934 Sarvadhârî-nâma-saṁvatsarê; tathâ śrîman-nṛipa-Śâlivâhana-Śakê 1799 Îśvara-nâma-saṁvatsaré; dakshiṇâyanê hêmaṁta-ṛitau **Pausha-mâsê sukla-pakshê tithau 8 ghaṭikâḥ 5 palâni 10 paraṁ 9 saṁkramaṇa-tithau Maṁda-vâsarê** nâkshatra[1] Aśvinî ghaṭikâḥ 41 palâni 37 saṁkramaṇ-arkshê yôga Siddhî ghaṭikâḥ 25 palâni 15 saṁkramaṇa-yôgê tâtkâlikê Bâlava-karaṇê êvam-âdi-paṁchâṁga-śuddhâv **atra-dinê sri-mârtaṁḍa-maṁḍal-ôdayâd gata-ghaṭikâḥ 19 palâni 0 samayê Makara-râṣau ravêḥ saṁkramaṇaṁ syât.** Tadâ dakshiṇâyana-hêmaṁtaṛitu-Dhana- ... n ... ya p... ma... ta-paryam... from this, ...n the p... the month of Pa..sha in the body of the alma... we learn that the *nirayaṇa* Makara-Saṁkrânti occurred, or was cast to occur, at 19 *ghaṭîs* after sunrise on Mandavâsara or Saturday, 12th January, A.D. 1878. On that day there ended the *tithi* Pausha śukla 8; and this is the *tithi* of the day for all ordinary purposes. But this *tithi* had actually ended at 5 *gh.* 10 *p.* after sunrise; or 13 *gh.* 50 *p.*, = 5 hrs. 32 min., before the time of the *saṁkrânti*. And the passage quoted above goes on to say, "after this time there is the *tithi* 9;" to stamp this as the *saṁkramaṇa-tithi* or *tithi* of the *saṁkrânti*; and to connect this *tithi* with the Saturday, though, as it ended at 7 *gh.* 43 *p.* after sunrise on the Sunday, the latter day is the one with which it is ordinarily to be connected. Exactly similar passages occur in Ganpat Krishnaji's almanacs for Śaka-Saṁvat 1800, 1801, and 1805 (expired); in each of which years, in the same way, the Makara-Saṁkrânti occurred, or was cast to occur, at a moment later than the ending-point of the expired *tithi* ordinarily belonging to the day. In the other years examined by me, Śaka-Saṁvat 1802, 1803, 1804, 1807, and 1808 (expired), the circumstances were different; in each case the moment for the *saṁkrânti* is earlier than the ending-time of the expired *tithi* properly belonging to the day; and no reference is made to the next *tithi*.

I find the practice to be the same in the **Paṭwardhanî Pañchâṅg.**[2] In each of the years Śaka-Saṁvat 1799, 1802, 1803, 1805, 1806, and 1807 (expired), the Makara-Saṁkrânti occurred, or was cast to occur, before the ending-time of the expired *tithi* properly belonging to the day; and no reference is made to the next *tithi*. But in the years Śaka-Saṁvat 1800, 1801, 1804, and 1808 (expired), the circumstances were analogous to those of Śaka-Saṁvat 1799 (expired), according to Ganpat Krishnaji's almanac; and in the same way there is named, first the *tithi* ending on the day, and then the next *tithi*, commencing at that moment, and current at the time of the *saṁkrânti*. And, as it emphasises in a special manner the point that I have in view, I will quote in full the passage in the **saṁkrânti-phala of the Paṭwardhanî Pañchâṅg for Saka-Saṁvat 1808**

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[1] I give the passages, throughout, just as they stand in the original almanacs.

[2] This is the most convenient name for quoting the almanac started by Prof. K. L. Chhatre. Since his death, it has been continued by his collaborateurs, apparently on the same lines, and with the same title of *Navîn athavâ Paṭvardhanî Pañchâṅg*, "the New or Paṭwardhanî Pañchâṅg." As I have stated on a previous occasion (*ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 81), this almanac appears to be rather a theoretical one, intended to improve and rectify the calendar; and Ganpat Krishnaji's almanac is the one most in actual use in the Bombay Presidency.

(... S ... sa ... śrî ... ṁvâ ... sam ... ; daksh...ayanê ... ...nta-ṛitau **Pau...a-mâsê sukla-pakshê titha... 13 gha 3 pa 49 paraṁ 14 saṁkramaṇa-tithau Maṁda-vâsarê** nakshatra Mṛiga gha 10 pa 7 paraṁ Ârdrâ saṁkramaṇ-arkshê yôga Aindra 52 pa 19 saṁkramaṇa-yôgê tâtkâlikê Vaṇija-karaṇê êvam-âdi-paṁchâṁga-śuddhâv **atra-dinê srî-sûry-ôdayâd gata-gha 47 pa 20 samayê Makara-râsau ravêḥ saṁkramaṇa syât.** Tadâ dakshiṇâyana - hêmaṁtaṛitu - Dhanasaṁkrâṁtayô nivṛittâḥ ; udagayana-śiśiraṛitu-Makarasaṁkrâṁ-tayaḥ pravṛittâḥ. Tadâ dêvânaṁ din-ôdayaḥ ; daityânâṁ râtry-udgamaḥ. Asya puṇya-kâlaḥ Pausha-śu-15-Ravau gha 7 pa 20 paryaṁtam uttamaḥ, tad-agrê gauṇaḥ. From this, with the page for the month of Pausha in the body of the almanac, we learn that the *nirayaṇa* Makara-Saṁkrânti occurred, or was cast to occur, at 47 *gh.* 20 *p.* after sunrise on Mandavâsara or Saturday, 8th January, A.D. 1887. On that day, there ended (1) the ordinary *tithi* of the day, Pausha śukla 13, at an earlier moment, *viz.* at 3 *gh.* 49 *p.* after sunrise ; and (2) the *tithi* śukla 14 at 55 *gh.* 30 *p.*, after the time for the Makara-Saṁkrânti. According to the usual rule, this latter *tithi* was **an expunged tithi**, for all ordinary purposes ; and it is so shewn in the almanac. This *tithi*, however, though thus expunged, is the one which, being actually current at the moment of the *saṁkrânti*, is quoted as the *tithi* of the *saṁkrânti*. In this case, the *nakshatra* is specified in exactly the same way; so also both the *nakshatra* and the *yôga*, in both almanacs, in some others of the ten years examined. For this, I can see no particular reason; as it seems self-evident that the actually current *nakshatra* and *yôga* should always be quoted. But instances of mentioning in this way, first the expired and then the current *nakshatra* and *yôga*, are to be found in the Nêwâr dates Nos. 13 and 16, given by Prof. Kielhorn, *ante*, Vol. XVII. pp. 249, 250.

In respect of the *saṁkramaṇa-tithi*, the same practice is disclosed in the **Sâyana-Pañchâṅg for Saka-Saṁvat 1808 (expired) (A.D. 1886-87)**, where, in the *sâyana saṁkrânti-phala*, we have — Svasti ; saṁvat 1943 Vilaṁbi-nâma-saṁvatsarê ; tathâ cha śrî-Śâ-Śa 1808 Vyaya-nâma-saṁvatsarê; hêmaṁta-ṛitau **Paushê mâsê kṛishṇa-pakshê** ... **29 pa 31 vartamâna-dvâdasyâṁ** ...a-vâsarê Anurâdhâ-dina-nakshatrê ...ddhi-yôgê tâtkâlikê Kaulava-karaṇê **sûry-ôdayât gha 50 pa 56 tadâ Makara-râsau ravêḥ saṁkramaṇaṁ bhavati.** Tadâ udagayana-pravṛittiḥ. Saṁkrâṁti-puṇya-kâlaḥ dvâdaśyâṁ Budha-vâsarê sûry-ôdayât asta-paryaṁtaṁ. Here the details are for Tuesday, 21st December, A.D. 1886. The ordinary *tithi* of the day was Pausha kṛishna 11, which ended at 29 *gh.* 31 *p.*; but the hour for the *sâyana* Makara-Saṁkrânti being later,[3] *viz.* 50 *gh.* 56 *p.*, the *tithi* that is quoted as the actual *tithi* of the *saṁkrânti*, is kṛishṇa 12, expressly specified as " current, " and connected here with the Tuesday, though in the passage for the *puṇya-kâla* it is connected with the Wednesday, to which it ordinarily belongs as an expired *tithi*, ending at 26 *gh.* 26 *p.* So also in the same almanac for **Saka-Saṁvat 1809 (expired) (A.D. 1887-89)**, in the *Grahalâghava saṁkrânti-phala* we have — Svasti ; śrîman-nṛipa-Vikramârka-saṁvat 1944 Vikâri-nâma-saṁvatsarê ; tathâ cha śrîman-nṛipa-Śâlivâhana-Śakê 1809 Sarvajin-nâma-saṁvatsarê ; hêmaṁta-ṛitau **Pausha-kṛi-14 gha 20 pa 31 vartamân-âmâvâsyâyâṁ Guru-vâsarê sûry-ôdayât gha 55 pa 33** tadâ Pûrv-Âshâḍhâ-di[na*]-nakshatrê Harshaṇa-yôgê Nâga-karaṇê **Makara-râsau ravaiḥ saṁkramaṇaṁ bhavati.** Tasya puṇya-kâlaḥ Bhṛigu-vâsarê sûry-ôdayât sûry-âsta-paryaṁtaṁ. Here the details are for Thursday, 12th January, A.D. 1888. The ordinary *tithi* of the day was Pausha kṛishṇa 14, ending at 20 *gh.* 31 *p.*; the *nirayaṇa* Makara-Saṁkrânti occurred at 55 *gh.* 33 *p.*;[4] and the *tithi* then current was the *amâvâsyâ* or new-moon, Pausha kṛishṇa 15 or 30, which ended at 18 *gh.* 7 *p.* on the Friday.

From these passages we see that, **in specifying the tithi of a saṁkrânti, the custom is to quote the tithi that is actually current at the moment of the saṁkrânti.** And the rule thus disclosed will doubtless help to solve some dates which otherwise may not apparently yield correct results. It will be necessary, however, in dealing with dates mentioning *saṁkrântis*, to note the actual wording of them, and to determine whether the given *tithi* is intended to be the *tithi* of the occurrence of the *saṁkrânti*, or the *tithi* of the *puṇyakâla* or meritorious time for celebrating any rites and ceremonies connected with the *saṁkrânti*. For the *puṇyakâla*, which is too

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[3] The *nirayaṇa* Makara-Saṁkrânti occurred at 39 *gh.* 58 *p.* on Wednesday, 12th January, A.D. 1887, Pausha kṛishṇa 3, ending at 41 *gh.* 11 *p.*; and this is the only *tithi* mentioned in the *Grahalâghava saṁkrânti-phala*.

[4] In the body of the almanac, the *palas* are given as 30 ; there being thus a misprint at one or other of the two places.—The *sâyana* Makara-Saṁkrânti occurred at 5 *gh.* 19 *p.* on Thursday, 22nd December, A.D. 1887, Pausha śukla 8, ending at 48 *gh.* 15 *p.*; and this is the only *tithi* mentioned in the *sâyana saṁkrânti-phala*.

involved a question to be considered in ... note, probably the ordinary expired *tithi*, an... the current *tithi*, would always be quoted.

J. F. FLEET.

THE VIKRAMA YEAR COMMENCING WITH THE MONTH ASHADHA.

The existence of a **Vikrama year commencing with the month Âshâḍha** became first known to me, several months ago, through a note of Mr. Fleet's, on page 79 of the Introduction of his *Gupta Inscriptions*. Since then, Mr. Fleet has drawn more prominently attention to this curious year, page 93 above, and it is in response to the request expressed in his concluding paragraph, that I publish the following dates, which distinctly refer themselves to the *Âshâḍhâdi saṁvat*. According to the information collected by Mr. Fleet, the *Âshâḍhâdi* year is a Vikrama year which commences three months later than the northern (*Chaitrâdi*), or, which is the same thing, four months earlier than the southern (*Kârttikâdi*) year; and, assuming this to be true, any dates of the *Âshâḍhâdi* year falling in any of the nine months from Âshâḍha to Phâlguna must, for the purpose of calculation, be treated as northern dates, while such dates as fall in the three months Chaitra, Vaiśâkha, and Jyaishṭha, must, for the purpose of calculation, be regarded as southern dates. My dates, which fall in the months Mâgha, Śrâvaṇa, Vaiśâkha, and Phâlguna, prove that on this point Mr. Fleet's information is correct; and the last date, belonging to a dark fortnight, shows that (in this instance) the arrangement of the lunar fortnights of the *Âshâḍhâdi* year is the *amânta* (southern) arrangement. The dates are as follows: —

1. — In *Archæol. Survey of Western India*, No. 2, *List of Antiquarian Remains*, pp. 264-265, there is (what appears to be) a rough transcript of an inscription at Aḍâlij, 12 miles north of Ahmadâbâd, which records the building of a well by the *Râṇî* Rûḍâ, the wife of the Vâghêla chief Varasiṁha of the Daṇḍâhi-dêśa, and of which the date is given in the following passages: —

L. 1. — Saṁvat 1555 varshê Mâgha-mâsê paṁchamî-dinê pâdasâha-śrî-**Mahimûda**-râjâ(jyê ?);

L. 9. — Svasti śrî-nṛipa-Vikramârka-samayâtîtê kâlê (!) sâmpratam saṁvat=paṁchadaśê tu paṁcha-militê varshê châpaṁśati (cha paṁchâśati ?) । . . . . . Kaubêrîṁ diśam=âśritê dina-patau mâsê cha Mâghâbhidhê pakshê śuklatamê tithau phaṇabhṛitô vârê **Budhasy=Ôttarâ**-nakshatrê **Bha(ba)va**-saṁjñakê cha karaṇê yôgê va (cha) **Siddhôparê**(!) । . . . . . ; and —

...śrîman-nṛipa-Vikrama-samayâ-... **...di-saṁvat** 1555 varshê ...mânê uttarâyana(ṇa) ...[e*] śiśarutau(śiśirartau) Mâgha-masê paṁchamyâṁ tithau **Budha**-vâsarê **Uttarâbhadrapad[â*]**-nakshatrê **Siddhi**-nâmni yôgê **Bava**-karaṇê Mînarâśau sthitê chaṁdrê pâtasâha-śrî-**Mahamûda**-vijayarâjyaṁ(jyê) ।.

There can be no doubt that the inscription has been either carelessly executed, or, which appears more probable, negligently copied. However this may be, it is certain that it is dated in the reign of the Sultân **Mahmud**, in the *Âshâḍhâdi* Vikrama year 1555, corresponding, so far as the day is concerned, to the Śaka year 1420, on the fifth lunar day of the bright half of the month Mâgha, on a **Wednesday**, under the *nakshatra* **Uttarâ-Bhadrapadâ**, and when the *yôga* was either **Siddha** or **Siddhi**, and the *karaṇa* **Bava**. Calculating now for the ordinary (northern or southern) year, we obtain, as the possible equivalents of Mâgha śukla 5, —

for Vikrama 1555 current, — Saturday, 27th January, A.D. 1498, when the fifth *tithi* of the bright half ended 18 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise; and when, at sunrise, the *nakshatra* was Rêvatî, the *yôga* Sâdhya, and the *karaṇa* **Bava**;

for Vikrama 1555 expired, — Wednesday, 16th January, A.D. 1499, when the fifth *tithi* of the bright half ended 17 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise, and when the *nakshatra* was **Uttarâ-Bhadrapadâ** up to about 11 h. 10 m., the *yôga* **Siddha** up to about 18 h. 24 m., and the *karaṇa* **Bava** up to about 6 h., after mean sunrise.

The second of these two days is evidently the one mentioned in the inscription; and this date accordingly proves that the month Mâgha of the ordinary (northern or southern) Vikrama year is also the Mâgha of the same *Âshâḍhâdi* year; or, more accurately, that, so far as the bright half of the month Mâgha is concerned, there is no difference between the northern or southern, and *Âshâḍhâdi* years. As might have been expected, the year 1555 of the date is the *expired* year; and so is the Śaka year 1420, mentioned together with it, notwithstanding the term *pravartamânê*, by which it is qualified.

2. — According to Professor Aufrecht's *Catalogue of the MSS. of the Bodleian Library*, page 348, a manuscript of the *Prabhâsakshêtratîrthayâtrânukrama* bears the following date: —

saṁvat 15 **Âshâḍhâdi** 34 varashê (varshê) Śrâvaṇa-śudi 5 **Bhû(bhau)mê** ad[y*]=êha śrî-**Kadanapurê** sthânê pâtasâha-srî(śrî)-**Mahimûda**-vijayarâjyê . . . . .

i.e. "on **Tuesday**, the 5th of Śrâvaṇa in the *Âshâḍhâdi* here, at the place Kac victory of the Sultân, the illus[illegible]d."

Calculating, again, for Śrâvaṇa śukla 5 of the ordinary northern and southern Vikrama years, we obtain the following results: —

for the northern year 1534, current, — Friday, 26th July, A.D. 1476;

for the northern year 1534, expired,
or the southern year 1534, current, — **Tuesday,** 15th July, A.D. 1477, when the fifth *tithi* of the bright half ended about 7 h. 43 m. after mean sunrise;

for the southern year 1534 expired, in which Śrâvaṇa was intercalary,
for the first Śrâvaṇa, — Saturday, 4th July, A.D. 1478;
for the second Śrâvaṇa, — Monday, 3rd August, A.D. 1478.

Of these, **Tuesday, 15th July, A.D. 1477,** is clearly the day intended by the date; and since Indian dates, as a rule, are recorded in *expired* years, we are justified in assuming that the year 1534 of the date was the expired *Âshâḍhâdi* year, and that the bright half of Śrâvaṇa of this *Âshâḍhâdi* year was also the bright half of the same month of the same northern year.

3. — According to Professor Weber's *Catalogue of the Berlin MSS.*, Vol. I., page 69, a manuscript of the *Tâṇḍyabrâhmaṇa*, which was evidently written in Gujarât, is dated: —

svasti saṁvat **Âshâḍhâdi** 83 varshê Vaiśâsha(kha)-sita-dvitî[yâ*]yâṁ **Bhûmi-tanayê** . . . .

i.e., apparently, "on **Tuesday,** the second lunar day of the bright half of Vaiśâkha in the *Âshâḍhâdi* (Vikrama) year 83."

Here the figures for the century have, either purposely or negligently, been omitted; but, learning from Professor Weber that the MS. is an old one, and "may well have been written about saṁvat 1583," I feel no hesitation in saying that the year of the date *is* 1583, and that the copyist, similarly to what we have seen in the preceding date, intended to write or should have written "saṁvat 15 Âshâḍhâdi 83 varshê." And calculating for Vaiśâkha śukla 2 of the ordinary northern and southern years, I find the following equivalents: —

for the northern year 1583, current, — Monday, 24th April, A.D. 1526;

for the northern year 1583, expired,
or the southern year 1583, current, — Friday, 13th April, A.D. 1526;

for the southern year 1583, expired, — Tuesday, 2nd April, A.D. 1527, when the second [illegible] of the bright half ended about 22 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise.

The true day, therefore, clearly is **Tuesday, 2nd April, A.D. 1527,** and the date proves that the bright half of Vaiśâkha of the *Âshâḍhâdi* year is also the bright half of the same month of the same southern year.

4. — On page VII. of the Notes, Corrections and Additions to his *Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS.* for 1883-84, Professor Bhandarkar has given the date of a MS. of a commentary on the *Śôbhana-stutayaḥ*, evidently also written in Gujarât, thus: —

saṁvat 16 **Âshâḍha vadi 99 varshê** Phâlguna-vadi 11 tithau **Sôma-dinê.**

Here the words *Ashâḍha vadi,* of course, are meaningless; and there can be no doubt that the writer, who was not copying from another MS., but wished to give the date on which he finished his own copy, meant to write or, and this appears more probable, actually has written —

saṁvat 16 **Âshâḍhâdi 99** varshê, —

i.e. "in the *Âshâḍhâdi* (Vikrama) year 1699, on the 11th lunar day of the dark half of Phâlguna, on a **Monday.**" And calculating, again, for Phâlguna krishṇa 11 of the ordinary (northern or southern) Vikrama years, and for both the *pûrṇimânta* and the *amânta* schemes of the lunar fortnights, I obtain the following results: —

for Vikrama 1699 current,
pûrṇimânta — Tuesday, 15th February, A.D. 1642;
amânta — Wednesday, 16th March, A.D. 1642;

for Vikrama 1699 expired,
pûrṇimânta — Sunday, 5th February, A.D. 1643;
amânta — Monday, 6th March, A.D. 1643, when the 11th *tithi* of the dark half ended 10 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise.

The true day, therefore, clearly is **Monday, 6th March, A.D. 1643,** and the date proves that the arrangement of the lunar fortnights of this *Âshâḍhâdi* year was the *amânta* arrangement of the ordinary southern Vikrama year.

As regards the above dates in general, it may be noted that out of several hundreds of Vikrama dates in inscriptions and MSS. which I have examined, they are the only dates hitherto discovered which mention the *Âshâḍhâdi* year; that they are all from Gujarât, and that three of them belong to about the same time (Vikrama 1534, 1555, and 1583). Moreover, attention deserves to be drawn to the peculiar manner in which the year of the date is expressed in the second, third and fourth dates, and in line 9 of the first date, by separating the figures for the century

from the figures for the year within the century, and altogether omitting the word for 'hundred.' And in this respect I may be permitted to quote here, from page 166 of Professor Eggeling's *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS of the India Office*, as an even more instructive example, a date of about the same time and from the same part of India, which runs as follows:—

svasti samvat pañchadasa 15 asītau 80 pravartamānē uttarāyaṇē(nē) śrī-sūryē grīshma-ṛitau mahāmāṅgalya-pradē Jyē-(jyaiṣhṭha-māsē sauta-pakshē dvādaśa-ghaṭikā-paryanta-paurṇamāsī tadanantara-pratipadāyāṁ tithau Bhṛigu-vārē adyēha Simhōdraḍā-stānē . . . . .

i. e., omitting useless details, "in the (Vikrama) year fifteen-eighty, in the month Jyaishtha, in the dark half, on a Friday, when the full-moon *tithi* lasted twelve *ghaṭikās* (after sunrise) and was then followed by the first *tithi* (of the dark half), here at Simhōdraḍā" . . ; corresponding (when referred to the southern Vikrama year 1580, current) to Friday, 29th May, 1523, when the full-moon *tithi* by Professor Jacobi's Tables ended 4 h. 28 m., and by D. Bhramin's Tables 4 h. 49 m. after mean sunrise, as near 12 *ghaṭikās* as can be expected.

F. KIELHORN.

Gottingen.

BOOK NOTICES.

A GRAMMAR OF THE SANSKRIT LANGUAGE, by F. KIELHORN, Ph. D., C. I. E., Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Gottingen. Third edition, revised and enlarged. Bombay Government Central Book Depot, Bombay, 1888. Royal 8vo., pp. xv. 286.

The study of Sanskrit Grammar may be profitably regarded, as having like that, for example, of Euclid, an interest and educational importance quite apart from its practical bearing. The Pāṇinīyan system, though no critical student would venture to hold it up as an ideal, is in itself so marvellous a monument of human ingenuity and withal so characteristic of India, that no real and scientific student of the speech of the country can entirely dispense with a knowledge of it. Its influence indeed extended, as was so ably shown by the late Dr. Burnell, throughout the Peninsula and beyond the confines of Aryan speech. The modern Indian student, for whom the present work is principally intended, may be regarded as occupying a place midway between the superficial learner in Europe for merely philological purposes, and the old-fashioned Indian *śishya* who seems to have spent years in committing to memory rules, of which he probably understood at first even less than our own Eton students of their old Latin grammar.

The general plan adopted by Prof. Kielhorn has been, to adapt the rules of the chief Native grammarians to the requirements of teaching after Western methods. This has involved the inclusion of a considerable number of forms not actually occurring in Sanskrit literature. For all this, the grammar is not to be regarded as a mere introduction to the theoretic study of grammar above referred to; but rather, as Prof. Kielhorn puts it, in introducing his chapter on Syntax, which forms a new and acceptable feature of the present volume "The forms . . taught . . "are not learnt for their own sake, but for the use "to be made of them in *the sentence*." Thus recognising, as all must do who have been privileged to hold converse with the best culture of India even of to-day, the great importance of Sanskrit as a medium of practical intercourse, Prof Kielhorn in this work provides his readers with a book of instruction and reference to supply forms that can be justified from the main authorities still deferred to.

In the Chapter on Letters, spaced Roman type has been used for the more difficult forms, to great advantage. Indeed for European students it might have been well to have added it further on in the work for the more difficult paradigms, as has been done so successfully by Mr Macdonell in his new edition of Prof Max Muller's Grammar.

In the Declension-section, *anadvah*, beloved of grammarians, appears in full proportions, in spite of its great rarity in the classical language, and even the theoretical feminine is retained, perhaps in deference to the Indian reader's feeling of reverence for the sacredness of its meaning; but it is satisfactory, and more characteristic of the general method of the work, to note that fictions like *priyachatasr*, discussed by the commentators in the same passage of Pāṇini (vii., 1, 98, 99), are excluded [1]. In the rules for verbs, it might be of assistance to add at abular summary of the *sandhi*-rules, and in particular to note a case like *vatsyati*, where the rule for the general tenses differs from that for the special tenses.

In the rules for the insertion of *i*, the use of the native terms *aṭ* and *aniṭ* is most convenient but European readers must, I fear, be content to envy the native memory that could learn the 100

[1] And yet I well remember being set to learn the form by even a European teacher, who rendered it, by-the-by, into a monstrosity of English worthy of the original: *bears-four-(having)*.

'*anit*' roots given in the five formidable couplets on p. 110. I may perhaps be allowed to record my own experience in learning and teaching, that the best way to master this crux is to divide the final consonants into two groups, according as they tend to cause the insertion or rejection of the *i*. The exceptions amongst verbs in ordinary use will be found to be very few, when this has been done, as it easily may be done, from the tables in Monier-Williams and Whitnêy.

In other cases, where the Pâṇiniyan nomenclature is concise, and not difficult even for beginners to acquire, *e.g* the names of tenses, it might be added parenthetically. This would facilitate intercourse with Paṇḍits and their books, as well as prepare the way for the study of the older authorities.

The list of Irregular Verbs (§ 403) is printed with admirable clearness; but in some cases the verbs selected are of rare occurrence, at least in the forms tabulated. For example, the first root *aj* seems only to occur in the "Classical" Language in the Parasmai Special Tenses; the same applies to √*mi*; while √*ûrṇu* is, like *anaduh*, to the ordinary student, little more than a grammatical curiosity. The statistical school, as represented by Prof. Whitney, would, it is to be feared, make great *havoc of the elaborate rules for forming* causal aorists from vowel-initial roots, interestingly parallel though they *are* to Greek *forms* like *ἤγαγον*; for we now learn that only three of these forms have been found in literature (Whitney, 'Verb-forms,' pp. 224, 225). Still it must by no means be concluded that the study of Indian grammar, as set forth from traditional sources, when unconfirmed by the statistics, confessedly and indeed necessarily imperfect, of modern research has no more than the theoretic value to which we referred at the outset. Much important literature in Sanskṛit itself still remains to be explored: while the scientific study of the Prâkṛits[2] and Âryan vernaculars is daily progressing and throwing side-lights on the ancient grammatical learning.

A special feature of the edition is the addition of a **Chapter on Syntax**, which has great value as one of the first expositions of this portion of grammar by a European scholar already distinguished as an exponent of the Native authorities.

I must conclude this very inadequate notice by an observation on two syntactical points, which have always interested me, and on which it would be extremely useful to hear the further opinion both of Dr Kielhorn himself and of the traditional interpreters of the old *vyâkaraṇa*, such as might be easily gained by many an Indian reader of this Journal with little trouble to himself and possibly great profit to us in Europe.

(1) In § 584 (*a*) Dr. Kielhorn states that "in the classical literature the three past tenses are used without distinction."

This no doubt holds good as a general statement as far as concerns the Imperfect and Aorist. But as for the Perfect Dr. Speijer's[3] illustrations of the Pâṇiniyan sûtra (iii., 2, 115) *parôkshê liṭ*, from Daṇḍin and Sômadêva, merit consideration, as tending to show that good prose writers do observe Pâṇini's rule; and to the same conclusion we are led by the rarity of the occurrence of the 1st and 2nd persons of the tense.

(2) In explaining the rule for the case assumed by the agent of the primitive when it becomes a causal, Dr. Kielhorn adheres to the old rule of Pâṇini (I iv. 52, *gatibuddhi°*)

But surely there is much force in the objections urged by Bâbû Ânandarâma Vaḍuyâ[4] and by Dr. Speijer (*op. cit.* § 49), who point out that really the instrumental is always used when actual agency or instrumentality is emphasized: *e g*, Manu, viii., 371, तां श्वभिः खादयेद्राजा, which is against Pâṇini but still, I venture to think, a perfectly good construction, because the point is, not that the king makes the (possibly willing) dogs devour the criminal, but that the *criminal* meets her death by such degrading *means*. With this contrast another citation of Dr. Speijer, *Kathâsaritsâgara*, Tar. ix. 810 10: चरुं राज्ञीं प्राशयत् ; where the point is, not getting the porridge eaten *by* someone, but *making the queen* eat it. So too it would seem that, *in spite of* authority, the process of making a person pay (दापय), doubtless always familiar to Orientals, could not be expressed by so gentle a means as the instrumental construction but takes two accusatives.

Cecil Bendall.

Fa-Hien's Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms; translated by James Legge, M.A., LL.D. Oxford; the Clarendon Press. 1886. Small 4to; pp. iv., viii., 123, and 44 of Chinese text: with a Map and nine Illustrations.

Mr. Legge has done good work in bringing out this new translation of **Fâ-Hien's Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms** And we regret not having been able to notice his book at an earlier date; the more so because, in addition to including

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[2] This applies to the *Dhâtupâtha* likewise √ *hind*, 'wander,' treated by European authorities as a doubtful *ἅπαξ εἰρημένον*, is found in Pâli as early as the Mahavagga (Vol. I. p. 23) and is still in use in Hindî and Marâṭhî.

[3] *Sanskrit Syntax* (Leyden, 1886), § 330.

[4] Higher Sanskrit Grammar (Calcutta, 1879), §§ 159, 160.

a new and noteworthy feature, in the production of the Chinese text, from a copy obtained through Mr Bunyiu Nanjio, it is enriched with such ample notes, embodying all the advances up to date attained by recent researches in this line of study, that it must almost entirely supersede previous translations and expositions of the same work.

The visits to India, paid in the early centuries of the Christian era by eager Chinese pilgrims, are most interesting historical events. They stand out to great advantage from the mass of myths and legends which do duty as Hindu history. The spirit which drove these restless monks, the Luthers of an earlier Reformation, to seek truth at the cradle of their faith, preserved the records they left behind them from all taint of fable or exaggeration; and the result is in many respects a trustworthy tale Nor are those elements wanting which might move us to deeper feeling than a mere passing interest. When we consider what a journey from China to India by way of Central Asia means even in these days, we may well be moved to admiration by the devotion, the zeal, and the fortitude which must have inspired a humble traveller to venture on such a journey fourteen centuries ago. It is true that Fâ-Hien took his time over it. After his start from China in A.D. 399 or 400, fifteen years passed away before he rested again in Nankin, having pierced Central Asia, crossed India from Peshâwar to the mouth of the Ganges, visited Ceylon, and returned home by way of Java In view of the large tracts of country crossed and the ample leisure Fâ-Hien allowed himself, it must be admitted that his diary is meagre; the whole story reproduced in Chinese characters only taking up forty-four pages of Mr. Legge's book. It deals entirely with the religious state of the countries he visited. In this respect, therefore, it is a work of less value than that of Hiuen Tsiang, which tells a great deal of the political conditions of India Hiuen Tsiang clearly made good use of his time, but it cannot be said that Fâ-Hien, as a diarist, was equally industrious; and it is a most peculiar point that, though his visit to India was made at the time when the power of the Early Guptas of Northern India,—by whom Buddhism appears to have been favoured quite as much as the national religions of India,—was still almost at its zenith, yet no references to that dynasty are to be found in his book. He saw or noted nothing but the special objects of his journey, which were the state of the Buddhist faith, the most approved views of Buddha's doctrine, and the degree of piety with which its services were performed. He writes, however, as a simple, pious, single-eyed man; his writing is interesting in proportion to his zeal, and there is a fervour and simplicity about his diary which is very winning.

Mr. Legge, distrusting the power of Fâ-Hien's words alone to interest any but scholars, has inserted an attraction for the general reader, by illustrating the narrative with a series of interesting Plates. It would have added to their value, if Mr. Legge had told us something of the age and history of the original drawings. So far as we can judge, they are studies by a modern Chinese artist from older drawings. A few touches here and there are clearly modern, and some points, especially in the treatment of landscape, might well be the work of an artist who knew something of the way Europeans deal with the subject. These illustrations, however, are of great merit. They are taken from what Mr. Legge enthusiastically calls a superb Chinese edition of the Life of Buddha. There are nine in this book, and all are so good as to make us wish there were more As illustrations by a Buddhist artist of incidents in the life of the great Buddhist Teacher, and as furnishing some striking examples of the likeness of the chief incidents of the Buddhist and Christian creeds, they are of special interest. The frontispiece, for example,—"The Dêvas celebrating the attainment of the Buddha-ship,"—might almost be the work of some Mongol Fra Angelico. The Buddha sits cross-legged on a lotus, surrounded by ranks of adoring hierarchies Allowing for the difference of the Christian and Buddhist symbols, there is much in this picture to recall Fra Angelico. The handling of the Chinese hagiology, in fact, pointedly recalls the work of the Christian monks. The other illustrations, though not so striking, are remarkable and will repay study.

A further help to reading the story is to be found in Mr. Legge's profuse and scholarly notes, which occupy on an average one-half of each printed page. But, in respect of both the notes and the text, we cannot help remarking that an undesirable course has been followed in omitting to give always a transliteration of the exact Chinese representation of all the Hindu and other non-Chinese words and names that occur in the book. In respect, for instance, of the geographical names, no doubt the identification of most of the better-known places is now sufficiently well established. Yet on many points there is still room for doubt and controversy. And, as much for help in following the writings of other Chinese pilgrims, as for further investigation of doubtful points in connection with the present book of travels, the exact Chinese equivalents ought to have been given throughout, along with the established or supposed Hindu and other names.

The sketch map of Fâ-Hien's travels is very good as it stands, and shows the whole course of the journey in a way which is indispensable to following the text. It would have added to the value of the book, however, had this map been supplemented by others, on a larger scale, of portions of the countries he visited. Such detail is, of course, impossible when one has to show half Asia and Polynesia on a quarto page.

MÂNAVA-DHARMA-ŚÂSTRA, THE CODE OF MANU; THE ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXT, critically edited according to the standard Sanskrit Commentaries, with Critical Notes, by J. JOLLY, Ph. D., Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Würzburg; late Tagore Professor of Law in the University of Calcutta. TRÜBNER'S ORIENTAL SERIES. London: Trübner & Co. 1887. Post 8vo; pp. xix., 340.

Professor Jolly's edition of the text of the Mânava-Dharma-Śâstra or Manu-Smṛiti, popularly known as the Code of Manu, is a very useful addition to the list of reliable texts of important Sanskrit works. Of this book "the two European editions, Sir G. C. Houghton's published in 1825, and Loiseleur Deslongchamps' published in 1830, though very creditable productions in their own time, belong to a bygone period of Sanskrit studies, and have long been out of print, while the numerous Indian editions are on the whole nothing but reprints from the two earliest Calcutta editions, published in 1813 and 1830." These remarks, in his Preface, by the editor of the present Text, will be fully understood and appreciated by anyone familiar with the usual quality of the Hindu "editions," so-called, of Sanskrit works, prepared otherwise than under European superintendence, or by those who have studied under European teachers and have acquired the Western method of critical editing; and will serve to indicate the special importance of the present version of this ancient book. In addition to the previous printed editions, and to manuscripts of the text only, the preparation of the present Text has been facilitated by the recovery of early Commentaries, by Médhâtithi, belonging probably to the ninth century, — of which nine copies have been consulted, — and by Govindarâja, composed apparently in the twelfth or thirteenth century, and somewhat later ones by Sarvajña-Nârâyana, Râghavânanda, and Nandana, including also an anonymous commentary from Kaśmîr "contained in an ancient carefully written and corrected birch-bark MS. in the Śâradâ character," which is now in the Deccan College Library; selections from all of which are being published by Professor Jolly in the Bibliotheca Indica Series, and will of course form a useful and indispensable aid in any detailed study of the original precepts. And a curious result is, that it is now found that Kullûka's commentary, which until recent times was always thought to be the most authoritative exegesis of the Code, and was always associated with it, does not possess the claims to special consideration with which it was invested by the early editors and translators of Manu, but, belonging apparently to the fifteenth century, is most substantially indebted to the preceding commentaries, and in particular to that by Govindarâja. Copious notes on the various readings of the Text are given in pages 287 to 335; and these are followed by a special feature, viz. a synopsis of the more important discrepancies between the present edition and the text as rendered in the four principal translations, by Houghton, Deslongchamps, Burnell, and Bühler. The last two translations, of which Burnell's was completed and brought out by Hopkins, are of recent date. To them the present edition of the Text, beautifully printed by W. Drugulin, Oriental and Old Style Printer, Leipzig, will be a most valuable accompaniment.

THE COINS OF THE DURRÂNIS, by M. LONGWORTH DAMES. Reprinted from the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. VIII. Third Series, pp. 325-363. London, 1888.

This is a learned and very useful pamphlet on the coins of the successors of Ahmad Shâh Durrâni, who stamped his mark literally on all the coinage of the Panjâb, excepting that of Lâhôr and Amritsar and of Kaśmîr.

This paper, however, only deals with the coinage of his successors on the throne he established from 1773 to 1842. The history of the Durrânis is, as Mr. Dames very rightly remarks, "an almost unparalleled series of treasons, rebellions, plots and murders," and as their coins very fairly represent the various fluctuations of power which so rapidly succeeded each other, Mr. Dames has done good service in recording them.

Ahmad Shâh was succeeded by Taimûr Shâh, his son, who reigned 20 years, and between his death in 1793, and the extinction of the dynasty in 1842, there were 11 reigns over the whole or a part of the kingdom. In this interval, too, one ruler, Shujâ'u'l-Mulk Shâh, reigned three times, and another, Mahmûd Shâh twice. Of the sons of Taimûr Shâh that came to the throne, there were Zamân Shâh, Shujâ'u'l-Mulk Shâh, Mahmûd Shâh, Sultân 'Ali Shâh, and Ayyûb Shâh. Of his grandsons there were Kâmrân, Qaisar Shâh and Fath Jang.

The varying fortunes of these princes can all be noted in the 156 carefully described coins to be found in Mr Dames' pamphlet as issued from 15 mint-towns in the Panjâb, Kaśmîr, Afghânistân, and Turkistân.